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MEDIEVAL
AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS
IN HONOR OF
JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

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JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON

PUBLISHED BY
MEDIEVAL KANSAS
AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS
IN HONOR OF
JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON



EDITED BY JAMES LEA CATE
AND EUGENE N. ANDERSON



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TO
JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON
TEACHER AND FRIEND
THESE ESSAYS ARE DEDICATED BY HIS
FORMER STUDENTS, THE AUTHORS

*

PREFACE



THE role of the academic historian is a dual if not a bifurcated one: he teaches and he writes. That his fame outside his own institution depends usually upon his publications alone is regrettable, for in an art so ephemeral as is the historian's the channels of influence radiating from his classroom may cut deeper and run longer than those emanating from his most scholarly book. Perhaps it is because it honors an oft-neglected phase of the historian's career, rather than from any virtue inherent in its literary form or any intrinsic utility, that the *Festschrift* enjoys so wide a vogue today. Within its covers as nowhere else can disciple publicly render homage to master for inspiration and training received.

For more than the two-score years conventionally allotted to the professor, James Westfall Thompson has, at Chicago and California, taught with effectiveness and distinction. Rigorously but sympathetically he has initiated the seminar student into the mysteries of medieval documents, and he has lectured to large classes with lucidity and with a dramatic touch which he would deprecate but which perennially draws the former graduate back once again to see Otto of Wittelsbach's sword flash at Besançon or to hear Louis the Debonnaire's wail of contrition at Attigny. It was an appreciation of these qualities of the teacher as well as of the ripe personality of the man which led a group of Professor Thompson's former students to plan this volume of historical studies in his honor. The initiative in the project was taken by Professor E. N. Anderson, who collected the seventeen essays which appear below; when he was called from Chicago to another university, the more prosaic task of seeing the book through the press fell by default to myself.

Since Professor Thompson's influence was by no means limited to students "majoring" in medieval history, it seemed unwise to try to fit the articles around any central theme or into any predetermined pattern; the sole proviso stipulated to contributors was that each essay fall within one of the two fields to which Professor Thompson had devoted his chief attention—the history of the Middle Ages and the history of historical scholarship. The resultant disparity in the length of the articles, though greater than was anticipated, has caused the editors small concern; nor have they regretted the wide variety of topics chosen. It was felt that the only unity proper to such a volume is that of affection and esteem, and of that spiritual oneness they have often been made aware. The very heterogeneity of subject matter is in itself tribute to the wide-ranging interests of a teacher whose constantly reiterated phrase was that "all is grist to the historian's mill." The titles of the students' essays reflect the development of the master's scholarly interests as they turned from political and ecclesiastical to social and economic to artistic and intellectual matters: frequently the articles "date" the period of the author's graduate work. It is in frank acknowledgment of the absence of any central theme that no index has been provided, for it was felt that a mere list of unrelated names and places would be of little aid to the reader.

It should not be amiss here to express the gratitude of all concerned to those friends of Professor Thompson whose generosity made possible the publication of this book. More personal are the thanks I render to those who have made lighter the chores of an editor: to Mrs. Helen Robbins Bittermann and Mr. S. K. Padover for aid in compiling the Bibliography; to Miss Mary D. Alexander and Miss Mary Irwin, of the University of Chicago Press, for tolerance and efficient co-operation; and to my student, Mr. Walter Porges, for help in reading the proofs.

JAMES LEA CATE

Chicago, Illinois
December 2, 1937

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I
MEDIEVAL ESSAYS

A CRITIC OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY ST. BIRGITTA OF SWEDEN

★

CONRAD BERGENDOFF

IN A phrase reminiscent of Matthew Arnold's description of two worlds, Hammerich, the Danish biographer of St. Birgitta of Sweden, has characterized the century in which she lived as one in which the great ideas of medievalism seem to have been able neither to live nor to die.¹ Birgitta's life covered the larger part of the fourteenth century, and, in view of what she conceived to be her mission in life, we may date her career as one extending from Boniface VIII to Gregory XI, from the *Unam Sanctam Ecclesiam* to the last of the Avignon popes. On the Continent the decline of the papacy was contemporaneous with the rise of national forces, and the great day of the Roman church was already hastening toward twilight. But just in this period the brightest figure of medieval Sweden appeared, reflecting in those northern regions something of the light the century of St. Francis and Thomas Aquinas and Dante had seen. Birgitta was a late product of the medieval philosophy of life, but her works remain a revelation of many aspects of that philosophy. An investigation of her writings brings us into that century when the faith was losing its hold on nations and institutions, but those writings yet give a clear picture of the nature of that faith. The ideas of medievalism could not live, at least in the form of those ages—in Birgitta those ideas are present in the full fruition which precedes decay.

¹ F. Hammerich, *Den hellige Birgitta og Kirken i Norden* (Copenhagen, 1863), p. 10.

She has sometimes been numbered among the precursors of the Reformation, but such an interpretation of her life is strained. The only sense in which she can be called a critic of the fourteenth century is that which gives her a role of judge over every movement or person that acted contrary to the interests of the church. From her remote homeland she moved southward to Italy on the eve of the Jubilee of 1350, and until her death in 1373 she made Rome her home, ever seeking to influence the mighty ones in the church. How this lone woman could find access to the cardinals and the popes of the Avignon period and after her death be raised to the rank of the saints and be counted among the canonized is one of the interesting events of a century which also knew a Catherine of Siena. If either the Italian or the Swedish saint is to be thought of as a reformer, it must be within the barriers which medievalism had set for itself.

Though her writings bear the name of *Visions* (*Uppenbarelser*), they are not the type of revelation usually associated with the medieval mystics. She has herself told us how she received the Rule for her proposed Order of the Savior—one of the most significant of her numerous visions. The entire passage is illuminative of a mind that conceived itself to stand in intimate relation to the Deity.

God, the Creator of all things, announced to such an unworthy one as myself all the words of this Rule in such a wonderful manner and in so short a time that I cannot fully describe it to anyone. Nor is it possible for anyone to understand, except by material image, how so many words could be expressed or grasped in such a brief moment. Thus one may know that it was as if a large number of different kinds of treasures were in a vessel and all of these at one time were tipped out, and in that moment an onlooker noticed each piece, one by one, and the treasures remained long enough for him to pick each one up into his lap. In this wise it was that Jesus Christ showed himself to me and opened his blessed mouth and began to speak. Then immediately, in the briefest moment, there came to me all the articles of this Rule and all the words in it, not as if they were written in some letter, but in what manner it happened only He knows from whom they were so miraculously heard and through whose wonderful power they were comprehended, so that each one could be dis-

cerned by my mind. And I remained in my vision long enough to collect all of it in the bosom of my memory through the gracious aid of Christ. . . . For several days my heart was like a bubble filled full of air, until I had made known and recounted all the articles of this Rule and the words therein to a monk and friend of God, who then put it all into writing.²

The Rule which was thus given her was not illogical or incomprehensible. In a flash of imagination probably its main idea was conceived—the recounting of the contents extended over more time. The Rule, it is granted, did not work any too well in the convent which was finally established at Vadstena. But the contents which were revealed in the vision were not without definite antecedents and applications. It is true of most of the visions that they are not the mystical experiences in which so many of the followers of the Areopagite indulged during these centuries of the late medieval period. The visions of Birgitta are almost entirely ethical and practical in their nature. However the thought was born, it issued usually in an exhortation directed with real force to some individual. The German mystics rose by abstraction from earthly things to the contemplation of pure being. The Swedish seer derived from a heavenly vision or a heavenly voice a message to some contemporary—very often one who perversely resisted the seer's guidance. Birgitta constantly avers that she was in a waking state when the experience came. Oft as not it was the word of prayer and devotion which generated the miraculous sight or sound. With divine sanction, thus, she went with her message. Usually the message implies criticism and change of way. Because the recipients of these criticisms were of high and low estate, and ranged from obscure companions to kings and popes, we have called her, in the title of this essay, a critic of the fourteenth century.

The death of her husband, Ulf, in 1344, seems to have been

² The Rule, chap. 29. This and all subsequent quotations from the works of Birgitta are translated from the modern Swedish version in R. Steffen, *Den heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser* (Stockholm, 1909).

the decisive point in Birgitta's life. Since the age of thirteen she had been an earthly wife. Now that her mate was gone, she was called to be a heavenly bride. Throughout the revelations she always is the bride of Christ, as Mary is his mother. The Virgin appeared to her continually. On one Christmas Day Birgitta heard Mary speak these words:

As my Son gave thee the name "His new bride," so I now call thee my daughter-in-law. And just as the father and mother entrust and transfer to the daughter-in-law the work of the household and tell her what is to be done in house and garden, so God and I, who now are old in the hearts of men and have grown cold in their love, announce our will through you to our friends and the world.³

From the death of Ulf until her own death in 1373, Birgitta is the bride of Christ, and through her he and, as often, the Virgin make known the divine will to the men of the times.

She believed herself to have commissions to the popes of her day. In 1349 she entered Rome, and there she purposed to remain until the papacy would leave Avignon and come back to the city of Peter and Paul. For Clement VI she had a vision.

The Son of God spoke to His bride: Write on my behalf these words to Pope Clement. I exalted thee, and I permitted thee to attain to an office above all offices of honor. Arise therefore and make peace between the kings of France and England, who are like grim and fearful animals and betrayers of the soul. Then come to Italy and preach there and proclaim the salutary word and the golden year and the love of God. Behold there the streets which are covered and colored by the blood of my holy ones, and I shall give thee the reward which never ceases. . . . But my hour cometh forthwith, when I shall require of thee for all thy neglect and sin. And as I let thee be exalted above all, so thou shalt descend spiritually in terrible torment, which thou shalt surely experience in soul and body if thou dost not obey my word. And thy pretentious tongue shall be silent in thee. . . . I shall also require of thee that thou didst come to thy office in an unworthy fashion, though I permitted it. . . . I shall also examine thee for thy sloth in making peace between the kings, and for thy partiality to the one side. Nor shall be forgotten how much greed increased and spread in thy time and that thou could'st have improved much if thou hadst had the will.⁴

³ Book VI, chap. 88.

⁴ Book VI, chap. 63.

In 1367 Urban V returned to Rome from Avignon, but in 1370 Birgitta had heard that he was contemplating a return to the French city. She had hoped much from Innocent VI in regard to the confirmation of her new Rule, and a vision had revealed to her that he "was of better ore than the one that preceded him."⁵ But the vision had also showed that he would not live long. Birgitta greeted Urban V hopefully. The Son of God revealed that "this Pope Urban is a gold that can be molded to good things, but he is possessed of worldly anxieties."⁶ Urban's departure from Rome drove Birgitta to despair. She followed him to Montefiascone and personally delivered a message to him when others would not carry it to him.

As a mother leads a child with her whither she will . . . so I led him to Rome. . . . But now he turns his back, not his face, to me and intends to go away from me. An evil spirit with his deceit is luring and leading him to this. For he tires of Godly service and finds pleasure in his bodily ease. The devil draws him and leads him with earthly desire to long for his native land. Also he is enticed and drawn by the counsel of worldly friends. . . . If now he returns to his native land, he shall ere long receive such a blow that his teeth will chatter, his vision be darkened and his limbs tremble.

But Urban did depart. Birgitta, however, had achieved something. Earlier she had been told that no new order could be sanctioned except by a general council which would have to be called. But the suggestion that her order be guided by the rule of the Augustinians was, as a last resort, accepted by Birgitta, and for such an arrangement the papal sanction was given in 1370. Gregory XI also received counsel from Birgitta, but to Catherine of Siena rather than to Birgitta of Sweden the honor has gone of persuading, or aiding in persuading, the last of the Avignon popes to return to the Eternal City.

Unthinkable to Birgitta was the moving of the capital of

⁵ Book IV, chap. 136.

⁶ Book IV, chap. 137.

Christendom away from Rome. That city was the center of her world. "God's mother" one day imparted to her:

Were one to measure out a parcel of ground one hundred feet in length and of the same width, and sow it so full with fine wheat that no space was left between the kernels but all formed a solid mass, and each kernel yielded fruit a hundred fold, there would yet be a greater number of martyrs and confessors in Rome from the day that Peter came humbly to Rome to the day Celestine left the seat of vaunting and returned to his hermit life. . . . O Rome, O Rome, thy walls are broken and cast down. Thus thy gates are defenseless, thy holy vessels are sold, thy altars deserted, the wine and the sacrifice and the incense of matins are offered outside the temple and therefore no pleasant odor proceeds out of the highest sanctuary—for the keepers and defenders yield to greed—the clergy and the laity, who are God's walls, are divided and scattered and seek the will and desire of the flesh—God's sacraments are distributed and administered for money and the favor of men—they who perform the office with the vessels—have indeed God in their hands, yet their heart is empty of God, for it is full of the vanity of the world—the sacrifice is wasted outside the temple, that is, in the world.⁷

One can imagine in some degree the disillusionment this austere northern pilgrim felt when she came to Rome and found not a Jerusalem but a Babylon. But never did she waver in her faith that this was God's city. Unworthy priests and monks had wrought havoc, saints' shrines were standing "without roof and door," and the church was full of abuses. But still "Rome did not lack friends of God," and the only alternative Birgitta could conceive to the lordship of Rome was "the fear that Christendom might soon perish." In one revelation⁸ she has enumerated the abuses and wrongs she found in Rome: Clergy who are not permitted to marry defend their living in concubinage by giving as reason "We are canons and are not allowed to marry" and are not ashamed to be known as fathers of children. The abbots and heads of monasteries "are more often on their farms than in the monasteries," and often no one is present when the hours should be sung. The monks have so changed their garments that

⁷ Book III, chap. 27.

⁸ Book IV, chap. 33.

it is difficult to distinguish a monk from one who is not in orders, and at their side "hangs a sword rather than slate and pencil." Poverty is not in honor among the followers of Augustine and Francis and Dominic; many have private possessions, and they are "praised when they have just as expensive cloth in their garb as do rich bishops." To the convents priests and laymen seem to have unrestricted access.

And the holy Church enjoined that no one should receive money for hearing a confession. But instead a vile custom has grown up, whereby rich persons give as much as they wish, when they have made confession, while poor folk have to come to some agreement with the confessor before they are heard. And in fact, confessors are not ashamed to pocket their money with their hands while they are giving the absolution with their mouth.

To everyone in Rome who goes to confession annually, as they ought, there are a hundred who never go to confession or communion. Separation on the part of a husband from his wife is common, and no attention is paid to the regulations of the church. It even happens that a concubine is kept in the same house as the wife, and the children of each grow up together. Fasting in Lent is not observed; some fast in the daytime and eat meat secretly at night. Rich men will themselves observe the Sabbath but will work their serfs as usual. Christians are receiving usury on their money, like the Jews—"and indeed, the Christian usurers are greedier than the Jewish."

The historian will be a little cautious in his dependence on the judgment of Birgitta. Despite her unfavorable comparison of the present state of the church with a time when "the condition of church and Christendom was very happy, both spiritually and bodily," we may wonder when that time was, and how much Birgitta knew of it. Probably her criticism was not based so much on a knowledge of happier days in the past as on a high and conscientious conception of what the Christian church really implied and demanded. In far-off

Sweden the church had not yet obliterated traces of heathenism, but it must be said to the credit of the church that it had succeeded in inspiring in a Birgitta an ideal of Christendom which would in time tend to oppose what was antagonistic to such an ideal. One doubts if Birgitta ever learned to understand the southern temperament, despite her twenty-four-year sojourn in Italy and the travels she undertook outside Rome. Her puritanism must have seemed to her neighbors to have something of the cold north in its demands.⁹ But it can hardly be denied that she was but interpreting a way of life which the Italians themselves had professed and taught to northern peoples. She admired no one as much as Francis of Assisi, and his demands were hers. His followers were unworthy. It was her mission to found a new Rule, where chastity and poverty and obedience would truly be practiced. She would give the world a new example of Christian holiness. The old orders were like vineyards which had fallen in decay—the new order was to be established “in order that the wine may not be altogether lost.”¹⁰ She realized that different countries produced different kinds of wine,¹¹ and she did not claim that hers was best. But it was the will of God that hers should be tasted at this time. Quite certainly the taste was not to the liking of the church in this period. But none can deny that it came from a vineyard of high purpose and steadfast seriousness.

In a message to Clement VI,¹² Birgitta suggests that, if he doubts her authority, he can investigate and that he will find that her career in Sweden will attest her mission. And the modern investigator will find, too, that she was not a voice heard in Rome but silent at home. In the revelations which she received concerning her fellow-men at home we not only discern the force of her character but also catch a glimpse of

⁹ Cf. the judgments on the dress and manners of the Cyprians and the Neapolitans (Book VII, chaps. 19 and 27).

¹⁰ The Rule, Introd.

¹¹ Book II, chap. 8.

¹² Book IV, chap. 132.

medieval Sweden. Here too she assays the role of judge in matters pertaining to her own surroundings and in questions of the state.

Birgitta was aristocratic by character as well as by birth. Her father was *lagman*, or justice, of a Swedish province, Uppland. She moved in the circles of nobility, her husband becoming a member of the royal council. King Magnus seemed at first to be sympathetic to her proposed conventual rule, endowing the projected convent at Vadstena with royal properties. But gradually the friendliness cooled. Magnus undoubtedly did not always appreciate the favor shown him by the Virgin Mary in bestowing Birgitta on his realm. The Virgin revealed to Birgitta:

The king ought to remember what mercy it is for the kingdom to have my Son, who is seated in the seat of Omnipotence, constantly speaking with you, who were born in his realm. And this grace I showed the king, in order that he might give God honor and himself profit thereby. And through you, too, I showed how he might rule his kingdom wisely and love the people of his kingdom rightly and how he should conduct himself both in body and soul to the glory of God.¹³

Magnus and Birgitta did not always agree on the wisdom of measures for the rule of the kingdom. Magnus wished to extend the power of Sweden across the Baltic, and, inasmuch as the enemy included adherents of the Greek Orthodox church and others still in a heathen state, he wanted to give the venture the color of a crusade. To this Birgitta was not averse, but she quarreled with the king on the character of the army to be sent, and to the devil she attributed the origin of the king's notion that "the friends of God do not know anything about war, therefore I shall search for men who are skilled in warfare." Her advice that priests and monks should accompany him found opposition in the devil, who also advised King Magnus. However, the venture met with little success for either church or state, and Birgitta's influence over the king was gone. Her early failure in securing con-

¹³ Book VIII, chap. 47.

firmation from Clement VI for her order weakened her position in Sweden, and opposition to her was found in high places. St. Agnes once revealed to her a crown which had been made for her. It contained seven precious stones.

The first stone is jasper. That stone was set in thy crown by him who disgracefully said to thee, that he did not know whose spirit spoke in thee, and said that it would be better if thou didst sit and spin, as other women do, than to dispute about Holy Scriptures.¹⁴

Hope still was left the king if he would make a pilgrimage to Rome. To the *summus episcopus* he should confess that

he had been a plunderer of his people, a betrayer of souls, he had despised the Holy Church and broken his vows and common law and had squandered away possessions of the Crown and wasted its treasures. Therefore let him achieve the forgiveness of all his sins and the confirmation of my Rule, which I have revealed in his realm.¹⁵

Magnus declined, and the final word of Birgitta to Magnus is one of the most powerful of all her picturesque descriptions. Because this vision is so fraught with the imagery Birgitta could command, and because it illustrates so well the type of thinking her age had inherited from the previous centuries, we may profitably dwell a moment in contemplation of what she held out as future rewards for recalcitrant rulers. The vision¹⁶ concerns three kings. It is the vision of the second king which interests us. Steffen¹⁷ may be correct in his assertion that the king represented is not Magnus but his grandfather, for whom the aristocracy of Birgitta's day had an inherited hatred. In that case the vision of his present state ought to serve the present king as a deterrent. The scene is a judgment seat. The departed king was clad in royal robes but was deathly pale and in anguish. In front of his face was a wheel, with four lines on the circumference. Three of the lines were inscribed; the fourth was blank. The wheel turned according to the king's will. On the king's right hand was a glorious angel—his hands were empty. On the

¹⁴ Book IV, chap. 124.

¹⁶ Book VIII, chap. 48.

¹⁵ *Extravagantes*, chap. 49.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 294 ff.

left side appeared "a devil, whose head looked like that of a dog, whose belly was immense, whose navel was open, overflowing with poisons of all kinds of colors, and on each foot he had large, strong sharp claws." As the king began to reveal his conscience, the devil inserted in his soul a hook and drew toward himself. In that moment a hammer appeared, and we are told that, had the king repented, he could have broken the hook with the hammer of mercy. The recital of misdeeds proceeded, to be interrupted this time by the devil putting a snare around the king's tongue. Again an instrument of escape is provided—a sharp iron is suspended before the king's mouth. Had he wished, he could have cut the snare. The king recounts the new taxes he had imposed on his people. The devil pours out poison over the king's hands, who is provided with a vessel of ointment, if he would use it. The devil complains of this counteracting of punishments but is quieted by the assurance from the seat of judgment that mercy and righteousness must meet. "Then the mother of God spoke to me and said, Come and hear, daughter, how the good spirit and the evil urges and counsels the soul, for every person is visited and inspired, sometimes of a good, sometimes of an evil spirit, and no one but he is visited of God during his lifetime." There follows a revelation of the debate which ensued in the soul of the king while he lived, as he was acted upon by the opposing spirits. The result was an action wherein the king sought to preserve the appearance of piety, while in reality he followed his own will. Now the time for judgment was come. The vessel of ointment, the sharp iron, and the hammer are withdrawn. The wheel is examined, and it is found that the blank line is uppermost. "Since this soul loved that which was empty, it shall now go in vengeance to its love." The soul is separated from the body. He is transformed from head to foot so that he looked like a flayed animal, with eyes torn out and the flesh mashed together. In his blindness the king sees his errors, and his threefold sinning against the vows of baptism, matrimony,

and kingship. He is now tied to the devil, but in such a way that his head is tied to the feet, and his feet to the head, of the devil. The claws of the devil's feet pierce his eye sockets and brain and ears and mouth. The poison from the devil poisons his body, and the king's feet, so cold to the errands of the Lord, are heated by the devil's terrible head. "Thus bound together they descended into the depths of hell."

The scenes of judgment are many in Birgitta's revelations. The disputing by a good and a bad angel over the soul of a departed one with the consequent recital of the soul's merits and demerits is a favorite theme. She knows clearly the details of purgatory.¹⁸ Heaven is less often pictured. In view of the type of imagery which the foregoing scene presents, we may ask in how far Birgitta thought of this as a real, material existence. She has something to say on just this point. "The soul and the devil," we are told in the vision referred to, "are not corporeal but spiritual, therefore devilish temptation and punishment shall be shown you in the likeness of bodily things." And again, "Spiritual things are to be comprehended through bodily images, for angels and devils do not have such limbs or such conversation, because they are spirits, but their goodness or evil is apparent to bodily eyes in such imagery." On such an interpretation we can hardly accuse her of too great a materialism in her picture of an overworld. Assuredly the devil and his cohorts were real to her, even as the realm of saints and as the Virgin Mary were actual. But in these and other passages she informs us that the images were only the symbols of an underlying truth which God through her would reveal to men.

Combined with her unswerving allegiance to the supremacy of the pope and the church, we find in this Swedish noblewoman an assertion of the rights of the nation as over against the king. It is a manifestation of the traditional Swedish insistence on the dependence of the king on those who accept him as their ruler. Birgitta received in one vision concerning

¹⁸ Cf. Book IV, chap. 7.

political matters in Scandinavia this bit of political philosophy:

The bride of God continued, "If some part of the kingdom is alienated by certain gifts, should not this part be recaptured by his successors?" God replied to her, "In a certain kingdom there was kept a crown, which belonged to the king. The people in the kingdom thought they could not be without a king, so they elected a king and left the crown with him for safekeeping, with the thought that he should give it to the king who followed him. If that king, who thus was elected or had ascended the throne, wanted to give away any part of the crown, surely the succeeding king could and should require back again that part. For there ought to be no decrease in the crown, and the king cannot diminish or give away the crown of the kingdom in his days except perchance for due cause. For what else is the crown of the kingdom than the regal power, and what else is the kingdom than the people, who are his subjects in the kingdom? And what is the king except the mediator and defender of people and kingdom? Therefore the keeper and defender of the crown may not at all break up or give away or diminish the crown, to the injury or injustice of the king that comes after him."¹⁹

In the difficulties of the reigning king she felt justified in passing judgment. She gave counsel to those contemplating rebellion against Magnus.²⁰ One of her visions can be interpreted to mean that she favored her own grandson when election of king took place in 1363.²¹ He was not chosen, and the successful candidate, Albrecht of Mecklenburg, received of Birgitta the name "The Snake."²² Against Waldemar IV of Denmark she warned her people and opposed the marriage of "The Wolf" to a Swedish princess.²³ She exemplifies the independence of the Swedish nobility over against any king who sought unusual powers. No democratic theories actuated her in this course. Her aristocratic soul yielded to but one greater power, the church. The nobles of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Sweden knew how to use the church in the preservation of their own privileges and power. A pope far away was more amenable than a king near at hand.

An illustration of the persistence of heathenism even into the middle of the fourteenth century in Sweden comes to us

¹⁹ Book VIII, chap. 41.

²¹ Book IV, chap. 55.

²⁰ Book IV, chap. 141.

²² Book VI, chap. 32.

²³ Book VIII, chap. 16.

from an incident that is related from one of the journeys of Birgitta.

One night the bride of Christ stopped at a house, where the devil spoke and gave manifest answer and predicted many things, though the unclean spirit was silent when she was present. Then she heard, in her prayer, a voice, though she saw no one. "In this place," the voice said, "certain evil deeds were committed by those who lived here before, and also by those who dwell here now, in that they worship and honor goblins and go not to church except out of fear of men. Never do they hear the word of God or a sermon. Thus the devil is supreme and rules in this place. Therefore your father confessor shall have all those who dwell in this house and in the neighborhood come together and shall speak thus to them: There is one God, who is a Trinity. By Him all things are created, and without Him nothing can exist. The devil is a creature of His, and is able to move not even a straw at your feet without the permission of God. But when you desire and love created things and the world more than God, then the devil begins to possess your souls and lets you succeed in worldly things because of God's righteous permission. Believe, therefore, in God and forsake those snakes, to whom you give milk, and do not give to goblins my tithe of your cattle and swine, and cease to say that Luck or Fate governs or does anything, but believe that God let it so happen. And do not say that on the altar nothing else than a small piece of bread is sacrificed or handled, but believe assuredly that there is truly the body of God who was crucified, and believe assuredly in the Church's means of grace, such as baptism and confirmation, etc., and then the devil will flee from you."

To this is appended the following conclusion:

Then all cried out, saying, "We believe and promise repentance!" And immediately a voice was heard from the fireplace, whence the devil gave reply, "No longer do I stay in this place!" Thereafter no devil's voice or disturbance was heard there.²⁴

As a conclusion to her career Birgitta accomplished a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and then returned to Rome to die. Her body was carried back to Vadstena, to become the chief treasure of the monastery. Through the combined efforts of her daughter, her admirers, and the leaders of church and state in the North, she was finally canonized, in 1391. Daughter-monasteries were gradually established in the Scandinavian countries, in the Hanseatic cities, in England (Syon), and in Germany, Spain, and Italy. Through the intercourse of

²⁴ Book VI, chap. 78.

mother- and daughter-institutions Vadstena became a cultural center of Sweden for many decades. The distinctive characteristic of the Birgitta order was the double-cloister arrangement, a foundation where both monks and nuns had separate dwellings but shared a common cloister-church. Though the principle was frowned upon in reform circles of the church, the Birgittines managed to maintain it in their monasteries. One of the daughter-establishments was at Munkliv, near Bergen, Norway. There a rich and influential Benedictine monastery had fallen on evil days. Finally the Birgittines got possession of it and transformed the old into a new community. This episode may well be regarded as a symbol of what Birgitta wanted to do in the church of her day. On the ruins of a manner of life which had once had great sway she attempted to build anew. Regardless of the lesson of time, she purposed an institution still more difficult to maintain than what her predecessors sought to accomplish. In a vision²⁵ she had once seen the church as a building whose vaulted ceiling and arches were cracking and whose floor was broken and perilous for those who walked thereon. Birgitta as a critic of the fourteenth century burned with a passion to rebuild the structure. But it was a structure on the old lines and of the same material as were found in the crumbling edifice above and around her. Though the pope canonized her, the Council of Constance hesitated to approve her revelations. The temper and spirit of the church were changing, and Birgitta, a full embodiment of the spirit of the heyday of the Roman church, came late in the day. What she stood for seemed no longer able to live—nor to die!

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The *Revelations* seem originally to have been written in Swedish by Birgitta herself. Schück²⁶ believes that Canon Mattias of Linköping early,

²⁵ Book III, chap. 10.

²⁶ "Några anmärkningar om Birgittas Revelationer," *Kongl. Vitterhets Historie Och Antiquitets Akademiens Handlingar* (N.S.), XIII, 1.

and Bishop Alfonso of Spain late, in her career exercised much influence on the Latin form in which the revelations were published. Not all her writings were presented in the hearings leading to the canonization of Birgitta; Some were purposely withheld. These and other additions accumulated, however, so that the known writings were all included in the Lübeck edition of 1492. It is uncertain to what extent the medieval Swedish is a direct translation of the earlier Latin edition, or in how far it is based on the original writings of Birgitta.²⁷ Though it shows traces of independent sources, the variations from the Latin are in the main of secondary importance. The medieval Swedish edition has been edited by Klemming;²⁸ a selection and translation have been made by Steffen. In England seven manuscripts are extant, containing translations of works of Birgitta into English. They are mostly from the fifteenth century. William Patterson Cumming has recently edited the fifteenth-century manuscript²⁹ in the Garrett Collection in the library of Princeton University for the Early English Text Society. It consists of selections from the *Revelations* and is not as complete as some of the other English manuscripts. The story of the Swedish monastery, Vadstena, has been carefully written by Höjer.³⁰ The history of the daughter-institution in England, Syon at Isleworth, has been told by Aungier.³¹ In the Appendix, Aungier has brought together from two sources the "Additions to the Rule of St. Saviour and St. Bridget"; of these Blunt says that they constitute "the most valuable record of monastic life in the fifteenth century that has been handed down to us."³²

The best treatments of the life and works of Birgitta are those of Hammerich, *Den hellige Birgitta og Kirken i Norden* (Copenhagen, 1863); C. de Flavigny, *Saint Birgitta de Suède, sa vie, ses révélations et son œuvre* (Paris, 1892); K. B. Westman, *Birgitta Studier* (Uppsala, 1911); and Emilia Fogelklou, *Birgitta* (Stockholm, 1919).

²⁷ K. B. Westman, *Birgitta Studier* (Uppsala, 1911); Steffen, *op. cit.*

²⁸ G. E. Klemming (ed.), *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser* (5 vols.; Stockholm, 1857-84); Steffen, *op. cit.*

²⁹ *The Revelations of Saint Birgitta* ("Early English Text Society," Original Series, Vol. CLXXVIII [London, 1929]).

³⁰ Torvald Höjer, *Studier i Vadstena klostrets och birgittinordens historia* (Uppsala, 1905).

³¹ George James Aungier, *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (London, 1840).

³² J. H. Blunt (ed.), *The Myroure of Oure Ladye Containing a Devotional Treatise on Divine Service with a Translation of the Offices Used by the Sisters of the Birgittine Monastery of Sion at Isleworth during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* ("Early English Text Society," N.S., Vol. XIX [London, 1873]).

THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE REGULAR AND THE SECULAR CLERGY

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HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN

IN THE Middle Ages, as today, there were two clergies, secular and regular. And there was much bitterness between them. The conflict began in the fourth century, when monasticism became a storm center of Western Christianity. Monasticism itself was, in a sense, an expression of the struggle. Men may have tried to escape from the evils of the world when they became monks. But they also fled from court bishops who fought for richer sees, from men who, immediately they were made clerics, lengthened the fringes of their garments, rode on foam-flecked steeds, and dwelt in houses of many rooms, with pointed wardrobes. Gregory Nazianzen remarked the pretentiousness of a fourth-century bishop:

I did not know that we bishops were expected to rival the consuls, the governors, and the generals, . . . to ride on splendid horses and drive in magnificent carriages, and be preceded by a procession and surrounded by applause, and have everyone make way for us as if we were wild beasts.¹

Jerome wrote of Pope Siricius:

His whole care is in his dress. He uses perfume freely, and sees that there are no creases in his leather shoes. His curling hair shows traces of the tongs. His fingers glisten with rings. He walks on tiptoe across a wet road so as not to splash his feet.²

¹ *Oratio* xlii. 42 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXVI, 487).

² *Epistolae* xxii. 28 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXII, 414).

The monks were not slow in noting the discrepancy of word and deed in the church, where prelates were canny men of business six days of the week yet preachers of otherworldliness on the seventh. In some cases the monks recognized that the priesthood had no other alternative than to live and work in the world. Consequently, many monks refused ordination because they considered the life of a priest incompatible with that of a monk. Cassian reckoned "the desire for the priesthood or diaconate" among the perils of the soul which a monk must avoid.³ Jerome was ordained against his will. According to some accounts, he never officiated as a priest.⁴ Martin of Tours, although a deacon, was so reluctant to become a priest that he was ordained only through stratagem.⁵ Evagrius fled rather than be ordained.⁶ Ammon cut off his right ear and threatened to cut out his tongue rather than become a priest.⁷ A whole chapter of one of the *Vitae patrum*, written in the fourth and fifth centuries, is devoted to monks who refused to be ordained.⁸

In other instances monks did not confine themselves to a simple refusal of ordination but joined rudeness or contempt to their treatment of the clergy. In Egypt the blessed Nathaniel (*fl.* 375) refused to accompany to the door of his cell certain bishops who had prayed with him there. When reproached for his lack of courtesy, he replied, "I died once and for all to my lords the bishops and to the whole world, and I have a secret reason concerning which God only knows my heart and why I did not go forth to escort them."⁹ When

³ *De Coenobiorum institutis* xi. 14, 16, 18 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XLIX, 412, 417, 418) Cf. Augustine's letter to Eudoxius I (*ibid.*, XXXIII, 187).

⁴ So Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem, included in Jerome's letters, *Epistolae* li (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXII, 518).

⁵ Sulpicius Severus *De vita B. Martini* 5 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XX, 163).

⁶ Socrates *Historia ecclesiastica* iv. 23.

⁷ Palladius *Lausiac History* 11, ed. A. Lucot (Paris, 1912), p. 82.

⁸ vii. 33 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXIII, 1051). ⁹ Palladius *op. cit.* 16 (p. 102).

Theophilus of Alexandria sent out his festal letter in 399, of all the heads of the religious houses in the desert of Scete, only the abbot Paphnutius permitted it to be read.¹⁰ In the West, Cassian was outspoken in his contempt for the episcopate, saying, in his famous passage, that

a monk ought by all means to fly from women and bishops; for neither women nor bishops permit a monk whom they have once drawn into their friendship to remain peacefully in his cell, nor to fix his eyes on pure and heavenly doctrine, by contemplating holy things.¹¹

But there was more than one side to the argument. If monks avoided the man in the street, the man in the street avoided monks. Popular distrust swelled high at Rome. Mobs demanded that all monks be drowned when the funeral cortege of Blesilla, dead from too rigorous fasting, passed among them.¹² The mere sight of a monk's somber robe called forth cries of "Greek!" "Impostor!"¹³ Exiled from Rome by Pope Siricius, Jerome wrote: "Fool that I was! I wished to chant the Song of the Lord in a strange land!"¹⁴

And if monks treated priests with contempt, they were more than repaid in kind. Public prayers accused them of fraud¹⁵ and worse: "Since all that is seen of them is dark, and they are blackened by opprobrium, it is certain that in secret they do things it would be vile even to mention."¹⁶ To call a priest "monk" was to insult him.¹⁷

Nor should the clergy be blamed too severely for their hostility to the monks. Far from living lives of contemplation

¹⁰ Cassian *Collationes* xviii. 15 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XLIX, 1116) and iii. 1 (*ibid.*, p. 557).

¹¹ *De Coenobiorum institutis* xi. 17 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XLIX, 418).

¹² Jerome *Epistolae* xxxix. 5 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXII, 472).

¹³ *Ibid.* xxxvii. 5. 465; liv. 5. 552.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* xlv. 6. 482.

¹⁵ *Liber sacramentorum ecclesiae Romanae*, attributed to Leo the Great, April XX (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LV, 28).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, July XVIII, 20, col. 74.

¹⁷ Jerome *Epistolae* xlv. 5. 482.

immured in their cells, monks took public office,¹⁸ interfered with secular justice,¹⁹ meddled in the politics of the empire,²⁰ wandered from place to place at random,²¹ disturbed the peace and dignity of church councils,²² and made themselves generally obnoxious.²³

In time the clergy might have become reconciled to the fanaticism of the early monks but for one thing. All monks were suspected of heresy. Their ascetic practices smacked of Manichaeism. Both monk and Manichaean kept long fasts and eschewed all forms of self-indulgence. Worst of all, both prohibited marriage. It was easy for a married clergy²⁴ to see in the defense of continence a Manichaean dualism, wherein the principle of spirit or good was opposed to matter or evil. The cry of "Heretic!" dogged the heels of monks as a

¹⁸ Council of Chalcedon (451), canon 7 (C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, ed. H. Leclercq [Paris, 1907], II, 789).

¹⁹ In 398 Arcadius condemned the audacity of monks and others who disturbed the peace in order to come to the aid of individuals arrested by the state (*Theodosian Code* ix. 40. 16).

²⁰ In 390 a law was passed forbidding monks to take upon themselves official missions (*ibid.* xvi. 3. 1). Babut thinks that this law had special reference to Western monks (E. C. Babut, *Priscillien et le priscillianisme* [Paris, 1909], p. 72, n. 2).

²¹ Jerome *Epistolae* xxii (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXII, 419 and n. a); Cassian *Collationes* xviii. 7 (*ibid.*, XLIX, 1102). These were the *gyrovagi* referred to by Benedict of Nursia in his Rule, chap. 1.

²² The Eastern monks were the worst offenders in this respect. They were so feared in the East that the emperor caused all monks to be expelled from Ephesus on the occasion of the council held there in 431 (Hefele, *op. cit.*, II, 291; Henry H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* [2d ed.; New York, 1883], I, Book II, 229-95). Their conduct was offensive at the so-called "Robber Council" of Ephesus (449), at the Council of Chalcedon (451), at the Sixth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (680), to mention specific instances (Milman, *op. cit.*, I, Book III, 316-18, 320 [n. 2], 321-22, 327, 330, 333, 335-36, 337-47; II, 284-85).

²³ Cf. Council of Chalcedon, canon 23 (Hefele, *op. cit.*, II, 809-10). But the acts of Chalcedon had little restraining effects on the excesses of monks for centuries to come (see above, n. 22, and Milman, *op. cit.*, I, Book III, 316-18).

²⁴ Except in Rome, where Damasus had prohibited the marriage of priests and bishops, the clergy were customarily married. This was particularly true in Spain and Gaul (cf. Babut, *op. cit.*, p. 74 and n. 2).

matter of course, as early as A.D. 380.²⁵ This placed monks in a different category from ordinary fanatics.

In Spain and Gaul²⁶ the idea that monasticism was just another name for Manichaeism was greatly strengthened by the appearance of Priscillianism in the last quarter of the fourth century. Priscillian's teachings aroused the hostility of the bishops on several counts. But two great sources of conflict were his asceticism and his claim that asceticism was the only proper preparation for the priesthood and episcopate.²⁷ Priscillian exceeded Jerome and Ambrose in the severity of his asceticism. Jerome had been accused of Manichaeism simply because he had centered his preaching about continence. Priscillian included in his definition of asceticism not only continence but voluntary poverty, fasting, and detachment from all mundane interests as well.²⁸ If the episcopate of Spain and Gaul found Jerome's monasticism distasteful, how much more repugnant was Priscillian's. And, what was worse, Priscillian set up his "heresy" as the best possible discipline preparatory to the priesthood.

The earliest struggle between the regular and secular clergy in Spain and Gaul was the conflict over Priscillianist clergy. The Priscillianists seem to have been the first to use monasticism as a novitiate for the priesthood.²⁹ Before the Council

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75 and n. 2.

²⁶ Clerical opposition to monasticism was not confined to Spain and Gaul. E.g., in 393 the partisans and adversaries of the monks could not agree on the choice of a bishop of Vercelli (Ambrose *Epistolae* lxiii [Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XVI, 1239-72]). Lupicinus, bishop of Strido, broke up the ascetic community founded at Aquileia by Jerome and Rufinus (Jerome *Epistolae* vii. 5 [*ibid.*, XXII, 340]). See also his letter to Theophilus (*ibid.*, p. 743). For other examples of episcopal opposition see August Hüfner, "Das Rechtsinstitut der klösterlichen Exemption in der abendländischen Kirche," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, LXXXVI (1906), 303, and Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* (6th ed.; New York, 1908), III, 227-33; and, for the East, J. O. Hannay, *The Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism* (London, 1903), pp. 174-75, 208.

²⁷ Babut, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²⁹ Babut pointed out (*ibid.*, p. 93, n. 1) that the seminary at Marmoutier was founded by Martin of Tours a few years after the Priscillian brotherhood of Lusitania.

of Saragossa (380), the first to condemn Priscillianism, Salvian and Instantius, two of the brotherhood, were made bishops. The parishes of the diocese of Merida were administered by priest-monks of the Priscillianist group.³⁰

The bishops fought vigorously the attempts to place Priscillianist monks in episcopal sees. Pope Siricius, at no time friendly to monks, deplored the custom established in certain Gallican churches of preferring monks to secular clerics for deacons, priests, and even bishops.³¹ Vigilantius of Calagurris protested against the monastic life as interfering with the duty of a Christian to his neighbor.³² It was not only a question of the bishops' natural aversion to asceticism. They saw their sacerdotal authority menaced by men they considered heretics, and they feared to see a church develop within a church.

In Spain the struggle centered about the several Priscillianist bishops. In Gaul the bishopric of Trèves was the focal point of the struggle. Britannicus of Trèves was in substantial agreement with the anti-Priscillianist party. He died during the struggle and was succeeded by one of the monks' party, Felix by name. This led to a veritable schism in the Gallican church. Ambrose of Milan was called in as arbiter but to no avail. In time Felix was prevailed upon by the other bishops to renounce his Priscillianism. But as late as the Council of Turin (401)³³ it was necessary to discipline all Gallican bishops who adhered to Felix and Priscillianism.³⁴

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

³¹ *Epistolae* vi (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XIII, 1165). However, it should be noted that Siricius had no objection per se to the ordination of monks (*Epistolae* xiii. 1144).

³² H. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal* (London, 1913), p. 16.

³³ Babut thought that the correct date for the council was 417 (see his *Le Concile de Turin* [Paris, n.d.]).

³⁴ Canon 6 (Hefele, *op. cit.*, II, 134) excommunicated all bishops of Gaul who did not break with Felix. For a general account of the schism see A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (4th ed.; Leipzig, 1907); Babut, *Saint Martin de Tours* (Paris, n.d.), pp. 154-55.

The bishops did what they could to prevent Priscillianists from entering the priesthood. Their leader, Ithacius of Osseonoba,³⁵ even tried to destroy all forms of monasticism by involving them in the Priscillianist heresy. They forbade clerics to become monks under the apprehension that monasticism was a holier state than the clerical profession.³⁶ They excommunicated the brotherhoods of Priscillianists.³⁷ They even extended their hostility to all orientals, whom they thought were born carriers of monasticism, and hence of heresy, to the Occident.³⁸ They had Priscillian executed as a menace to the state.³⁹

They could not stem the tide. Election of bishops and even of priests⁴⁰ was in the hands of the people. And the people were strong partisans of the monks. More and more monks were called to the episcopate. Monasteries became actual seminaries for young clerics.⁴¹ In Gaul, Marmoutier furnished the clergy for the diocese of Tours and bishops for several neighboring sees.⁴² Sulpicius Severus founded the monastery of Prémillac, where young men were trained for the priest-

³⁵ There seems to be some question as to the location of Ithacius' see. Sulpicius Severus, whose *Chronicon* gives the one account of the matter, reads: "Ithacio Sossubensi episcopo" (ii. 47. 2). By common consent this has been accepted as Osseonoba (see Babut, *Priscillien* ... , p. 98, n. 2).

³⁶ Council of Saragossa (380), canon 7 in Hefele, *op. cit.*, I, 986-87.

³⁷ Hyginus of Cordova was the first to use this weapon (Severus *op. cit.*, ii. 46 [Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XX, 155]).

³⁸ Council of Nîmes (394), canons 1 and 5 in Hefele, *op. cit.*, II, 92 ff.; Hauck, *op. cit.*, I, 60-62.

³⁹ Severus *op. cit.* ii. 51. 158.

⁴⁰ Babut, *Priscillien* ... , p. 92.

⁴¹ Cf. I. Gregory Smith, *Christian Monasticism from the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries* (London, 1892), pp. 95-96; Dom Besse, "Les premiers monastères de la Gaule méridionale," *Revue des questions historiques*, LXXI (1902), 447; Hauck, *op. cit.*, I, 82-83; J. Zeiller, *L'Empire romain et l'église* ("Histoire du monde," ed. E. Cavaignac [Paris, 1928]), p. 248; Hüfner, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁴² Sulpicius Severus *Dialogues* iii. 10 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XX, 217); iii. 15. 220; *Vita B. Martini* xii. 168; x. 166.

hood.⁴³ Both Paulinus of Nola⁴⁴ and Rusticus⁴⁵ considered monasticism proper preparation for orders. Proculus, bishop of Marseilles, seems to have directed a school for young monks preparing for the priesthood.⁴⁶ Lérins, founded in 410 by Honoratus of Arles, sent many bishops to the sees of southeastern Gaul.⁴⁷

At first these monk-bishops encountered much hostility on the part of their clergy and fellow-bishops,⁴⁸ which many of them aggravated needlessly by going about in their monastic robes.⁴⁹ But, as time went on, more and more of the great bishops were drawn from the ranks of the monks—Vedast of Arras, Nicetius of Trèves, Germain of Paris, Gallus of Clermont, Leobin of Chartres, and Paternus of Avranches, to name a few.⁵⁰ And, by a strange turn of fate, the very practice which had roused the bishops against Priscillian and his monks became one of the great factors in wearing down prejudice against them. By their able administration of episcopal sees the monks redeemed themselves in the eyes of their fellow-clergy. And while the feud between the two bodies did not abate—it had, indeed, only begun—the charges of heresy, fraud, and imposture were laid for all time.

⁴³ Paulinus of Nola *Poema* xxiv. 715–66 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXI, 628–29).

⁴⁴ *Epistolae* i. 10. 158–59.

⁴⁵ Jerome *Epistolae* cxxv. 17 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXII, 1082).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 20. 1084.

⁴⁷ For a list of them see Besse, *op. cit.*, pp. 448–49.

⁴⁸ It is usual to note the case of Martin of Tours, who was the victim of religious sabotage. However, in his *Saint Martin de Tours*, Babut has demonstrated so clearly that the trouble was due more to Martin's personality than to his monasticism that I have omitted a prolonged discussion of his difficulties.

⁴⁹ Pope Celestine I *Epistolae* iv. 1. 2 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, L, 431).

⁵⁰ For a more complete list see Hauck, *op. cit.*, I, 243.

THE CHURCH AND MARKET REFORM IN ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY III

*

JAMES LEA CATE

DURING the early years of the reign of Henry III the day of session of a number of English markets was changed from Sunday to a weekday, and other markets were removed from churches or churchyards to less hallowed locations. The number and the circumstances of these changes preclude any possibility that they were isolated acts of piety; they indicate, rather, a definite reform movement which reached its peak in the third regnal year, continued throughout the minority, and was manifested in a few scattered instances after 1227.

England had been a fecund source of sabbatarian legislation in Anglo-Saxon times, but under the Norman kings neither the government nor the church seems to have been concerned with the prevalent desecration of holy days and holy places by commercial activities. More recently, in 1200 and 1201, a campaign against these abuses had been conducted in England by abbot Eustace of St. Germer de Flay, whose sermons had awakened much popular enthusiasm and had effected changes in the time of meeting and in the location of a number of markets.¹ The fervor excited by Eustace's preaching subsided within a few years, however, and the

¹ Recently I have summarized the Anglo-Saxon legislation and have described in some detail the work of Eustace of Flay in an article, "The English Mission of Eustace of Flay, 1200, 1201," *Etudes d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne* (Bruxelles, 1937), pp. 67-89.

movement beginning in 1218 appears to have had an independent origin.² The chroniclers who had followed the abbot's campaign with interest have nothing to say of the subsequent reforms, and their silence makes difficult any effort to ascertain the source of the new activity or the agents by which it was propagated. In spite of the obscurity of some of the circumstances, however, and in spite of the fact that neither of the twin abuses was eradicated, it may be profitable to present such facts as can be elucidated; for the pietistic movement was no longer a local one under guidance of an isolated enthusiast but had assumed a wider scope and significance in western Europe, and a study of the methods used by its proponents may shed some light on the widespread efforts at reform in the English church after the Fourth Lateran Council.

Most modern writers of the history of English sabbatarianism have followed the medieval chroniclers in describing the results of Eustace's career, but few of them seem to have been aware of the less spectacular reforms of Henry III's reign, information concerning which is to be found only in the various chancery rolls of the period. Prynne knew of the later movement and cited a few of the markets affected in 1218 and 1219, but his surmise that the initiating force was to be sought in Henry III's piety³ is made improbable by the ten-

² David Royce, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Landboc sive registrum monasterii . . . de Winchelcumba* (Exeter, 1892-1903), I, xix, was wrong, I believe, when he wrote, apropos of the removal of the market at Winchcomb from Sunday to Monday in 1221, that "the 'Heaven-sent Letter' and the preaching of Eustace of Flaye were beginning to take effect." A reaction against reform had followed the enthusiasm of 1201, and the lapse of time and the troubled nature of the intervening years make any continuity of popular sentiment improbable. There is no evidence that Eustace ever preached in western England or that his letter was ever circulated.

³ William Prynne, *Antiquae constitutiones regni Angliae* (London, 1672), p. 40: "The King by his Ecclesiastical Prerogative and Writs, removed the respective markets of [names several markets which were changed in 1218 and 1219], usually held on the Lords-day before, to Mondays, Thursdays, or Saturdays, out of his piety, and that honour he then gave to the due observation of the Lords-day, much profaned by those markets held thereon."

der age of the king and by the fact that the government was not at that time in his hands. Peter Heylyn had, shortly before Prynne, charged that the sabbatarian activity during Henry's minority was the result of a clever scheme engineered by Honorius III,⁴ and only recently Professor Salzman has suggested that the campaign against Sunday markets after 1218 was under papal influence.⁵ The political situation in England at that time lends plausibility to this theory, but no contemporary documents have been advanced to support it—indeed there seems to be no reference to the problem in such papal correspondence as has been published for the years 1216–27. Perhaps there is some truth in both suggestions, for the circumstances by which the English government came so directly under papal control during Henry III's minority made it possible for the papacy to promote a reform in morals through political as well as ecclesiastical channels, and there is some evidence to show that this is just what happened during the first years of the reign. To give credence to such a theory it becomes necessary to examine, first, the general attitude of the papacy in the thirteenth century toward the sanctification of holy days and places, particularly with reference to market practices; second, the efforts of the English episcopacy to achieve reform in those respects during our period; third, the favorable attitude of the government toward the reforms; and, finally, in an appendix, the actual cases in which we have records of markets being shifted for religious considerations.

In spite of the fact that synodal legislation of the early Middle Ages, particularly during Carolingian times, had contained numerous canons forbidding servile work and market-

⁴ *History of the Sabbath* (London, 1636), p. 225. He wrote here without special reference to the putting-down of Sunday markets.

⁵ L. F. Salzman, *English Trade in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1931), p. 124. The account given here, though brief in keeping with the scope of the book, is the best I have seen anywhere of Sunday markets in medieval England.

ing on Sunday and decrying the use of churches and cemeteries for such secular activities as law courts, dances, and markets and fairs, no general council had defined the church's attitude toward these abuses; and, although both evils were common enough in the early thirteenth century, the schedule of reforms promulgated by Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran contained no reference to them. Yet the acts of a number of provincial and diocesan synods held under legatine direction during the pontificates of Innocent III and his successors would seem clearly to indicate papal concern in these matters, and by 1230 the official position in regard to Sunday observance had been crystallized in canon law. In general this attitude may be characterized as being more enlightened than that of Carolingian times. Justification for the new canons is expressed not so often in terms of "taboo," of days which are inherently sacrosanct, but more frequently because secular pursuits on holy days interfered with attendance at mass;⁶ so also the church was to be kept free of secular activities not only because of its consecrate nature but because those uses disrupted divine services.⁷ The Christian Sunday is sometimes equated with the Jewish Sabbath, but usually the great compilers of *summae* in the thirteenth century found justification for the observance of all holy days in human rather than divine law,⁸ and consequently justifiable exceptions

⁶ See below, n. 35; cf. J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Venice, 1759 ff.), XXIII, 751.

⁷ See, e.g., the statutes of the legate Odo at Meaux in 1245 (Mansi, XXIII, 684): "Injungimus insuper, ut omnia mercimonia ab ecclesia segregentur, nec aliquorum strepitus aut alius tumultus exerceatur in ea, seu aliud per quod divinum officium valeat impediri." There were, of course, special reasons why markets were unfit for holy times or places, for, as the cardinal Henri de Suze said, "difficile est inter ementis et vendentis commercium non intervenire peccatum" (quoted in A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* [Paris, 1911], IV, 1319 [s.v. "Dimanche"]). Hence it was that clerics were frequently warned to avoid markets and fairs except when on official business.

⁸ For the teachings of Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, Raymond of Peñafort, etc., see Vacant and Mangenot, *op. cit.* See also the introduction to the canon on Sunday observance in the synodal constitutions of Exeter, 1287 (David Wilkins, *Concilia magnae Britanniae* [London, 1737], II, 145). For Honorius III's explanation

were stipulated.⁹ Yet, whatever changes or qualifications the church may have made in underlying theory or in specific rulings, there can be little doubt that the new legislation reflects an increased concern over holy days and holy places, and it may be that in these respects as in so many others the church was moved toward a more definitive statement of belief, practice, and discipline by danger from dissident groups: it is not, I believe, a mere coincidence that the new legislation is synchronous with the open struggle against heterodox groups in southern France, or that so large a share of the pertinent canons were framed in Languedoc.

If we can accept the reports of the orthodox, both Waldensians and Albigensians had doctrines and practices which ran counter to the teachings of the church in respect to the two problems under consideration, although in each case the theories underlying their respective beliefs differed. The Waldensians, while accepting the conventional idea of a sanctified Lord's day, discarded the whole calendar of saints' days, and refused to consider any building or plot of ground as inherently sacred.¹⁰ The Albigensians observed the great feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost (though with a significance utterly unorthodox), but being opposed to special days for worship they did not regularly observe Sunday. Their refusal to accept the Hebraic story of creation and the Mosaic code left no divine sanction for a seventh day of rest, and

of the significance of the Jewish Sabbath and the great feasts of Old Testament times, see his Sermon XXXII, in his *Opera omnia*, ed. Horoy (Paris, 1879), I, 935, 938.

⁹ Cf. below, n. 37; and cf. Mansi, XXIII, 751, 1032. A letter of Alexander III to the bishop of Tribur was quoted in canon law as a precedent (*Quinque compilationes*, ed. E. Friedberg [Leipzig, 1883], Comp. II, Book II, title 5, p. 14).

¹⁰ Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), p. 296: "Item dicunt [Waldenses] omnem terram equaliter a Deo consecratam et benedictam; cimiteria christiana contempnunt et ecclesias"; *ibid.*, p. 297: "Item irrisibiles dicunt qui faciunt festa sanctorum, et quod non peccant qui in eis laborant, nisi forte propter scandalum hominum." Cf. Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis*, ed. G. Mollat (Paris, 1926), I, 48.

their attitude toward the "material" church and the cemetery was similar to, but more violently expressed than, that of the Waldensians.¹¹ It was, then, natural that the church in its struggle to eradicate these heresies should restate and clarify its doctrines concerning holy times and holy places and should provide disciplinary measures for infraction of its rules; and beginning with the council of Avignon in 1209 many of the synods held in southern France to combat heresy treated of one or the other of these problems, or of both.¹² Most interesting for our own purposes are the rules formulated at Pamiers in 1212, when a body of twelve men, lay and cleric alike, attempted to extirpate existing abuses in lands newly won from the heretics. Under pain of a fine, parishioners were required to attend mass on Sundays and those feast days on which servile work was forbidden.¹³ No Sunday markets were to be established in the future and those already in existence were to be changed to another day with the consent of the lord and the community.¹⁴ There is no reason to believe that the enactments of this local council, not even a duly constituted diocesan synod, ever found their way into England, but the canon on Sunday markets defines pretty accurately the practice which we shall see in vogue there, where Sunday markets were moved only with the consent of the crown and the market owner, and where no new Sunday markets were chartered.

¹¹ C. Schmidt, *Histoire ... des Cathares* (Paris, 1849), II, 137; C. Douais, *Les Albigeois* (Paris, 1879), p. 259; *Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Prouille* (Paris, 1907), I, Preface, xcvi-xcviii. Pierre de Vaux Cernay, in his *Historia Albigensium*, describes a miracle by which St. Dominic reproved some Albigenians for harvesting on a feast day (Bouquet, XIX, 8).

¹² E.g., Avignon, 1209 (Mansi, XXII, 786, canon iv, and 791, canon xvii); Toulouse, 1219 (*ibid.*, col. 1135, 6, canons ii and iv); Toulouse, 1229 (Mansi, XXIII, 200, canons xxv-xxvii); Narbonne, 1227 (*ibid.*, col. 22, canon iii); Béziers, 1246 (*ibid.*, col. 701, canon xl), etc.

¹³ Mansi, XXII, 857, canon vii.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 856, canon iv: "Item, in dominicis diebus nullum fiat forum venale de cetero; et si inventum fuerit institutum, in aliam diem arbitrium domini terrae et communitalis mutetur."

The published acts of Innocent III and Honorius III, as has been pointed out above, are disappointingly void of reference to the two abuses under consideration, but the interest of these popes may be inferred from the fact that their legates presided over or were present at the councils which have been cited, and from the fact that similar reforms were carried elsewhere by ecclesiastics who were especially close to the pope. The acts of a number of councils held in French lands outside of Languedoc before 1215 show a growing interest in the sanctification program,¹⁵ and that tendency is even more evident in the episcopal constitutions by which the great reform program of Innocent III was put into practice.¹⁶ Whether the effort to put down Sunday markets met with as much success in France as in England is a question which lies outside the scope of this study, and indeed it is dubious that the French sources contain information enough to justify any comparison. We can, however, point to isolated instances of the abolition of Sunday markets in France during the pontificate of Innocent III;¹⁷ and during the rule of his successor the efforts of the church to enforce the new canons became so strenuous that Philip Augustus found it expedient to pro-

¹⁵ E.g., Paris, 1197 (*ibid.*, col. 683, canon xxxvi); Paris, 1208 (*ibid.*, col. 768, canon xi); Paris, 1212 (*ibid.*, col. 834, canon iv; 843, canon xviii); Rouen, 1214 (*ibid.*, col. 920, canon xix). The two last named were held by Robert de Courçon, the second under Gualo, both intimate with Innocent III.

¹⁶ See, e.g., the statutes promulgated at Meaux in 1245 (Mansi, XXIII, 684, canon v); at Nevers, 1246 (*ibid.*, col. 732, canon ii); at Le Mans, 1247 (*ibid.*, col. 751); at Cognac, ca. (?) 1255 (*ibid.*, col. 872, canon xxvi); at Narbonne, 1259 (*ibid.*, col. 1032, canon v), etc. The appearance of queries concerning Sunday markets in a list of inquisitions shows how these rules were supposed to be made effective (*ibid.*, col. 943, canon liv).

¹⁷ E.g., Philip Augustus in 1209 confirmed the transfer of the market at Monteburg from Sunday to Saturday; the wording of the charter shows that the change had been effected, out of piety, by the bishop of Coutances: "Constantiensis episcopus nobis intimavit quodam mercatum in dyocesi ejus in die dominica, quod idem episcopus, propter reverentiam dominice diei, fecit interdicti, adjiciens etiam quod alio die mercatum illud sine dampno nostro et sine incommodo mercatorum vicinorum commode posset celebrari; inde praecipimus," etc. (L. Delisle, *Cartulaire Normand de Philip Auguste* [1852], No. 173).

hibit the clergy's habit of excommunicating those who indulged in Sunday trade.¹⁸ The exact temporal coincidence of this burst of activity on the part of the French church with the height of the movement in England would appear to indicate, even in the absence of specific proof, that a common and superior authority—namely, the papacy—was the motivating force, and certainly we can see in the new canon law the stamp of papal approval for the zeal of the clergy. The *Decretales* compiled by Raymond of Peñafort from recent *extravagantes* and accepted in 1230 by Gregory IX, by whose name they are generally known, contained canons against the desecration of churches and cemeteries and of holy days; Sunday markets are specifically forbidden.¹⁹ In the absence of any pronouncement in general council, the regulations in the *Decretales* stand as the most nearly official statement of the church's position in these respects during the first half of the thirteenth century, and it will be shown later that these laws were not without effect on English markets. For the beginning of the reform in England, however, we must go back to a period antecedent to the publication of the *Decretales*.

Honorius III, dedicated to the task of carrying out the reform program initiated by Innocent III in 1215, found conditions much more auspicious in England than had his predecessor; the death of John in 1216, the withdrawal of the French expedition in the following year, and the commanding political position of the legate in the new government in-

¹⁸ *Ordonnances des rois de France* (Paris, 1723), I, 41, sec. 8: "Item, clerici non debent excommunicari illos qui vendunt blada, vel alias merces, diebus dominicis." This decree was dated July, 1219. Although excommunication was used as a threat to curb Sunday markets in England, I have found no case in which it was enforced.

¹⁹ *Decretales*, Book III, title xlix, canon v, and Book II, title ix, canon i; in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1881), II, cols. 655 and 270, respectively. The latter article reads: "Omnes dies dominicos a vespera in vesperam cum omni veneratione decernimus observari, et ab omni illicito opere abstinere, ut in eis mercatum minime fiat." In spite of the prolific legislation on this score during the early Middle Ages, Gratian had included no reference to it in the *Decretum*.

sured a happier opportunity for the introduction of much-needed improvements in the English church. Innocent III had contemplated a reform which was to work downward through the hierarchy, from metropolitans to bishops to lower clergy and the laity, and the numerous provincial and diocesan constitutions which were published in England during this period show that in general this policy was followed.²⁰ Yet for the canons on the sanctification of Sundays, feast days, and sacred locations, which if not of prime importance at least occur with great frequency in the new ecclesiastical legislation, it is difficult to determine to what extent the particular abuses under consideration were brought to episcopal attention by the archbishops. Stephen Langton, by character and earlier associations, might be expected to favor such a movement, and Walter Gray participated in the reform to the extent of abolishing one Sunday market which pertained to the see of York.²¹ Yet in the several sets of provincial constitutions issued between 1216 and 1272 there is little that bears directly on these matters.²² The statutes promulgated by the council held under Stephen Langton at Oxford in 1222 include a brief statement against the desecration of churches and cemeteries, but there is in this canon no refer-

²⁰ The reform program in general has been described by Marian Gibbs and Jane Lang in *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272* (Oxford, 1934), a book which has been of much service in the present study.

²¹ The importance of Stephen Langton in the reform of the English church was indubitably great, yet it cannot be shown that episcopal sabbatarian legislation owed anything to him, and it is certain that the movement against Sunday markets was well under way before his return to England in May, 1218. For Walter Gray's Sunday market see below, Appen., No. 21.

²² The constitutions issued by Walter Gray at York in 1250 mentions only the inclosing of cemeteries (Wilkins, I, 698). An unpublished set of canons for York in (?) 1258-59 forbade both Sunday markets and markets in churches and cemeteries, but it seems to refer only to the diocese of York, not to the whole province (Brit. Mus. MS Landsdowne 397, fol. 247^v). I am indebted to Mr. C. R. Cheney, of Victoria University, Manchester, for the loan of a number of transcripts of unpublished constitutions. Such MSS as are referred to in this and in subsequent notes I cite through his kindness, and the tentative dates given are those which he has suggested.

ence to markets which were profaning either sacred places or Sundays.²³ It is true that in at least one version of the acts of this council there is an elaborate statement as to the proper observance of holy days, which were divided into several categories: those days, including Sundays and the most solemn feasts, on which all work save necessary agricultural labor was forbidden; those feasts which were to be observed by cessation from minor labors; those on which rustic labor was permitted after mass; and those on which wakes were required to be held. The authenticity of this canon has been questioned on justifiable grounds;²⁴ and, until a definitive text has been established, the influence of this particular statute on episcopal legislation cannot be determined; but, whatever the common source or authority may have been, a number of diocesan constitutions of the period enumerated the canonical feast days, national and local, and stipulated what work might be done on each.²⁵ Some of these statutes bear more directly upon our problem by forbidding the holding of markets on Sundays and the more solemn feast days.²⁶

²³ Wilkins, I, 586, canon viii.

²⁴ It is not to be found in Wilkins' edition, but appears as canon viii in the version printed by Mansi, XXII, col. 1153. It was evidently in the redaction consulted by Heylyn (*op. cit.*, p. 225) but not in that published by William Lyndwood in his *Provinciale* (in the Oxford edition of 1679, these constitutions are found in the Appendix, pp. 1 ff.). In Henry Bradshaw and C. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral* (Cambridge, 1897), III, 543, 4, the appearance of this particular canon is dated after 1240.

²⁵ E.g., London, (?)1229-41 (R. M. Wooley, "Constitutions of the Diocese of London, c. 1215-22," *English Historical Review*, XXX [1915], 301. Gibbs and Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 8, have shown that these constitutions cannot have been issued before 1229); Worcester, 1240 (Wilkins, I, 677); Salisbury, 1257-62 (*ibid.*, p. 719); Winchester, 1222-29 (Bodleian Lib. MS Hatton, 92, fol. 156^r). This tendency toward the clarification of practice concerning feast days to be observed within a given jurisdiction is also observable on the continent at the same time. The earliest example I have found—that of Toulouse, 1219 (Mansi, XXII, 1135, 6)—is quite similar to the spurious canon viii of Oxford, 1222.

²⁶ E.g., Coventry-Lichfield, (?)1224-37 (Wilkins, I, 661, 2); Worcester, 1229 (*ibid.*, p. 624) and 1240 (*ibid.*, p. 666); London, (?)1229-41 (*EHR*, XXX, 297, 8); Winchester, (?)1247-61 (Salisbury Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Muniments, *Liber evidentiarius* C, fol. 400^r); York (?)1258, 59 (cf. above, n. 22).

Similarly, many constitutions show an effort to eliminate various secular activities in churches, churchyards, and other *loca sacra*,²⁷ and in some cases the holding of markets therein is particularly forbidden.²⁸ The two reforms went hand in hand. Sometimes, indeed, a set of constitutions may refer to only one or the other, but more often the two statutes are juxtaposed, sometimes included within a single canon and fortified by a single scriptural quotation.²⁹

With some of the bishops at least the efforts at reform did not cease with a mere formal statement of the law, for in some cases processes were stipulated by which the canons might be put into effect. The "Schedule of Inquisitions for Archdeacons" promulgated by Hugh of Wells for the diocese of Lincoln in 1230 instructed the archdeacons to inquire "whether markets or games or secular pleas are anywhere held in sacred places,"³⁰ and on the basis of information thus obtained episcopal discipline could be initiated. Similar lists of articles of inquiry for the diocese of Coventry-Lichfield and for the archdeaconry of London contained queries about Sunday markets.³¹ The *Annals of Burton* record under the year 1253 another set of archdiaconal inquisitions purporting to apply to all the dioceses of England, and in that list are

²⁷ E.g., London (?) 1229-41 (*EHR*, XXX, 298, canon lxxvii); Salisbury, 1216-22 (*Charters and Documents of Salisbury* ["Rolls Series"], p. 160); Coventry-Lichfield, after 1222 (Wilkins, I, 641); Winchester, 1222-29 (cf. above, n. 25); etc.

²⁸ E.g., Worcester, 1229 (Wilkins, I, 624) and 1240 (I, 666); Lincoln, 1237-53 (cf. below, n. 44); Norwich, 1255 (Wilkins, I, 733); Winchester, (?) 1247-61 (cf. above, n. 26); York, 1258, 59 (cf. above, n. 22), etc.

²⁹ E.g., the Winchester canons of (?) 1247-61 cited in n. 26: "Precipimus etiam auctoritate evangelica firmiter injungentes ne in locis sacris aut diebus dominicis ubicunque habeantur mercata cum dominus vendentes et euentes eiecerit de templo."

³⁰ Wilkins, I, 628.

³¹ For Coventry-Lichfield, see *Annales de Burton*, an. 1252, in *Annales Monastici* ("Rolls Series"), I, 297. This schedule contains an expression of indebtedness to the work of Robert Grosseteste, successor to Hugh of Wells at Lincoln, and, as shall be seen, greatly interested in our reforms. The London list is undated (Trin. Coll. Dublin MS E 2.22 [No. 526], p. 141).

articles both on Sunday markets and on markets in churchyards.³² The attack of the church was delivered on two fronts. The bishop might forbid the holding of markets on Sunday and strive to persuade owners to conduct their markets on another day, but to the priest fell the duty of warning his parishioners in sermons against the sin of attending places of commerce on the Lord's day or on the great feasts.³³ Any clerics who countenanced such sinful conduct were to be held subject to canonical coercion,³⁴ and the threat of excommunication was to be held over laymen who frequented Sunday markets in preference to church services.³⁵ Some effort was made to check the undue extension of feast days on which work was banned,³⁶ and exception was sometimes made to the Sunday closing law to the extent of permitting victuals

³² *Loc. cit.*, I, 307 and 309.

³³ London, (?)1229-41 (*EHR*, XXX, 297, 8, canon lxvi); Coventry-Lichfield, 1224-37 (Wilkins, I, 661, 2).

³⁴ Worcester, 1240 (Wilkins, I, 666).

³⁵ The constitutions of London (cf. above, n. 33), after pointing out how secular activities on holy days interfered with church attendance, command the priests to warn their parishioners to frequent church on feast days, and especially on Sundays; the canon continues: "Et ut ad hec liberius invitari possint, mercata diebus dominicis celebrari prohibemus; secus autem agentes puniantur." Canon lxxvii forbids desecration of holy places under pain of anathema. The constitutions attributed to Alexander Stavensby of Coventry-Lichfield extend this threat of excommunication to laymen attending markets on Sunday: "Prohibeant etiam sacerdotes parochianis suis sub interminatione anathematis, ne diebus dominicis mercata frequentent, dimissis ecclesiis suis, apud quas debent convenire." (Wilkins, I, 661). So far as I know, the close resemblance of this set of constitutions and the two sets printed by Mansi (XXII, cols. 723-36) from MSS of Corbie under the title "Concilia Incerti Loci" has not been pointed out. The order of the parts is not the same, but the wording is often identical or varies only in minor detail. Mansi prints them under the year 1200, but frequent allusions to the Fourth Lateran makes this early date impossible.

³⁶ At Worcester in 1240 (Wilkins, I, 675), certain feasts were added to those named in 1229, but with this provision: "Nolumus tamen per hoc opera laicorum fidelium impediri." In the constitutions of Salisbury of 1257-62 (*ibid.*, p. 714), after the canonical feasts were named, this injunction is added: "Nullius alterius festivitas ab agricultura et laboribus, sine quibus terrae coli non possint, parochianis suis indicetur per presbyteros ferianda."

to be sold after mass;³⁷ but in general it may be said that during the reign of Henry III, as never before since the Conquest, the English church set its face resolutely against the profanation of Sunday and of sacred places by mercantile pursuits.

If we have found it impossible to estimate the extent to which episcopal legislation was shaped by the metropolitans, we may find it equally difficult to determine to what degree that legislation was the result of direct papal influence. The Fourth Lateran had given a general plan for reform, but the most recent analysis of the English episcopal constitutions of the period has shown that, however often they reiterate statutes of the great council, much of the legislation in them must be traced to other sources.³⁸ This was in perfect accord with the papal plan, for Innocent had not envisaged a mere repetition of the enactments of his council. Thus, when Honorius III in 1225 gave permission to the bishops of Scotland to hold, in the absence of a metropolitan, a provincial council for putting down current abuses, his suggestion was that their end could best be achieved by repeating the Lateran decrees and by supplementing them by other canons.³⁹ The rules which were thereafter laid down against secular abuse of Sundays and sacred places were, like those in contemporary English constitutions, drawn then from sources other than the statutes of 1215, but from what sources is not evident. The interest of Innocent III and Honorius III in the sanctification program we have inferred from the acts of

³⁷ London (*EHR*, XXX, 298): "Uicqualia tamen eisdem [dominicis] diebus sicut et aliis vendi possunt. Hec tamen non fiant dummodo missa cantatur." Precedent for this might be found in the exception Nicholas II had made when he forbade in 1060 Sunday markets save those "quae ad victum pertinent" (Mansi, XIX, 876, canon x). That Sunday markets and church services were mutually detrimental is shown in an interesting case in the Worcester assizes of 1221, wherein complaint is made that regrators operated while honest folk were in church (*Rolls of the Justices in Eyre . . . Worcestershire, 1221* [Selden Society, Vol. LIII, 1934], No. 1157).

³⁸ Gibbs and Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.

³⁹ The bull is printed in Wilkins, I, 607.

French councils under legatine direction, and the similarity of the French and English synodal canons would seem to argue a super-national source. The list of inquisitions published in 1253 for all the dioceses of England⁴⁰ might, because of its alleged universality in the realm, appear to have emanated from Rome, in which case we should have definite proof of direct papal influence in the reforms in question. The papal authorship of this schedule has been challenged, however, and it has been pointed out that the articles of inquiry contained therein do not reflect the same interests which are to be found in the known papal legislation of Henry III's reign;⁴¹ of the various collections of legatine decrees published in England during this period only those of Ottobono in 1268 forbid the sacrilegious markets,⁴² and these decrees came long after similar rules had been issued by English bishops. One earlier case does show, however, how a pope could exert a direct influence in these matters.

In 1236 Gregory IX wrote to Robert Grosseteste calling to his attention the fact that, in his diocese of Lincoln, markets were being held in churches and other holy places and commanding the bishop to abolish the practice.⁴³ When later (?1237-53) Grosseteste published his constitutions, he forbade this practice within his see and cited in that connection the papal mandate.⁴⁴ The diocese of Lincoln constitutes an interesting field of investigation for this study. Its parishioners had shown themselves especially receptive toward the

⁴⁰ Cf. above, n. 32.

⁴¹ Gibbs and Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 160, n. 8.

⁴² Ottobono's constitutions as published by Wilkins (II, 14, canon xxxiv) forbid only the holding of markets in hallowed places, but at the end of one text of these statutes (Bodleian Lib. MS Ashmole 1280, fol. 131^r) appear certain *Articuli domini Octoboni legati*, among which articles of inquiry is this: "Si aliqua sint mercata diebus dominicis."

⁴³ W. H. Bliss, *Calendar of . . . Papal Registers*, I (London, 1893), 155.

⁴⁴ Grosseteste, *Epistolae* ("Rolls Series"), p. 161: "Praecipimus etiam firmiter auctoritate Evangelica et etiam de speciali indulgentia apostolica ne in locis sacris habeantur mercata."

sermons of Eustace of Flay in 1201 and had spontaneously and illegally removed a number of Sunday markets to weekdays.⁴⁵ Other similar changes had been made with royal consent between 1218 and 1237, markets in cemeteries had been officially banned in the cathedral city of Lincoln,⁴⁶ and, as we have seen above, Grosseteste's predecessor, Hugh of Wells, had made his archdeacons responsible for reporting on the misuse of sacred locations for mercantile purposes. In spite of these evidences of reform, Grosseteste had found at his accession to the episcopal chair in 1235 that the desecration of churches and holy days by commerce was a rampant evil in his see and had determined to stamp out such abuses. In a circular letter of 1236 he commanded his archdeacons to enjoin both the practices under consideration,⁴⁷ but even before this he had approached Henry III in regard to what seemed a particularly obnoxious case. Both the market and the fair of Northampton had long been held in the church and cemetery of All Saints, and Grosseteste in 1235 had secured the king's consent to establish a new place for trafficking, and the promise had been put into effect.⁴⁸ Here, then, direct papal pressure may be said to have stimulated a reform already in progress, but it should be pointed out that Grosseteste may already have been influenced by the papacy in a less direct fashion—that is, through the newly compiled *Decretales* of Gregory IX. Whatever may have been the general reaction to Gregory's effort to have the new compilation

⁴⁵ Cate, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁴⁶ *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* (London, 1833), I, 547*b*. Hereinafter cited as *RLC*.

⁴⁷ *Epistolae*, p. 72.

⁴⁸ Reference to Grosseteste's personal interference in this case is to be found in the above-cited letter to his archdeacons (*ibid.*, p. 71). The royal order to change the location is in *Close Rolls*, 1234-37, p. 206. It might seem reasonable to suspect that this change came as a result of the pope's complaint, but the dating of the letters, if correct, makes this impossible, for the letter close is of November 9, 1235, the papal mandate of June 26, 1236.

circulated with the force of law throughout Europe,⁴⁹ it is evident that the canon against Sunday markets contained therein had been accepted by Grosseteste, for he once cited it while rebuking some itinerant justices for their resistance to a reprimand for holding courts on Sunday.⁵⁰

Now there is little reason to believe that conditions in the diocese of Lincoln were particularly worse than in other parts of the realm, and the fact that we do not have mandates to other bishops similar to that which was directed to Grosseteste may be due to the unfortunate loss of the letters. The bishops may also have been influenced by the papacy in other ways, through personal visits to the curia, or through contact with the new canon law. But this is only conjecture, and, with the exception of Grosseteste's own case, we can only say that papal influence seems likely to have been felt in the introduction of the two articles in question into English ecclesiastical legislation.

In the case of a diocese under an active and conscientious bishop like Grosseteste, we should suppose that the new canons must have been vigorously applied, yet we have little evidence to inform us whether the episcopal statutes had any great effect on actual market practice. The narrative sources render no assistance, and the documents, while occasionally making clear the fact that a particular market was being shifted because of religious reasons, almost never stipulate the person or the statutes responsible for the reform. With these words of caution, we may attempt to judge the success of the reforming legislation, in which task it becomes necessary for the first time to consider separately the cam-

⁴⁹ The new compilation seems to have been known in England by 1235 (Mathew Paris, *Chronica majora* ["Rolls Series"], III, 328).

⁵⁰ *Epistolae*, p. 267: ". . . cum canonicae sanctiones omnem diem Dominicam feriandum jubeant; exprimantque specialiter mercata diebus Dominicis minime debere fieri." There can be little doubt that the reference is to Gregory IX's *Decretales*; the article cited is lacking in Gratian and in the *Quinque compilationes*, and the wording is a close paraphrase of the canon quoted above in n. 19.

paign against markets in churches and against markets on Sundays.

If the wording of the legislation itself is a fair guide, the two evils were equally obnoxious in the eyes of the church; but, if we can accept the evidence of the documents as conclusive, the efforts to drive the money-changers from the temple were much less successful than the sabbatarian reform: comparatively few instances are recorded in which markets or fairs were removed from churches or cemeteries. In these instances the pious motive is sometimes stipulated; the market and fair at Wimborne were removed from the cemetery in 1223 for the sake of purity (*mundiciam*);⁵¹ the fair at Grabard's Ferry was taken from the vicinity of the abbey of St. Benet's of Hulme because it disturbed the religious tranquillity of the monks.⁵² In several instances episcopal influence may have been a factor, as, for example, at Wimborne and Malmesbury in the diocese of Salisbury; at both places markets were removed from cemeteries soon after Richard Poore, bishop of that see, had issued in his constitutions a canon against the misuse of churchyards, and in the case of Wimborne the bishop attested the letter by which the removal was legalized.⁵³ In other cases, however, the actual reform preceded any episcopal legislation, as we have seen in the case of Grosseteste's activity. Thus the holding of markets was prohibited in all cemeteries in the city of Lincoln in 1223,⁵⁴ seven years before the appearance of Hugh of Wells's "Inquisitions," and William de Raleigh, bishop of Norwich, ejected a market from the cemetery at Refham years before his successor, Walter Suffield, forbade in a statute the desecration of consecrated places within that see.⁵⁵

⁵¹ *RLC*, II, 4.

⁵² *Close Rolls*, 1242-47, p. 318.

⁵³ For Wimborne, see n. 51 above; for Malmesbury, *RLC*, I, 537*b*.

⁵⁴ *RLC*, I, 547*b*.

⁵⁵ *Close Rolls*, 1237-42, p. 193; for the legislation see n. 28 above. It is interesting to notice that these two bishops, like most of the churchmen who participated in

The fact that this aspect of reform was less successful than the effort to abolish Sunday trading may have been due ultimately to the fact that the convenience and safety offered by the churchyard were factors too important to be sacrificed for moral considerations, and it is possible that churchmen, to whom most of these markets belonged, felt that they did not interfere with the spiritual work of the church as did commercial activities carried on during mass. But at least some of the responsibility for failure lay with the government. A few markets under royal control were taken out of churchyards,⁵⁶ and in 1236 Grosseteste thought that Henry III would sanction other removals as he had that at Northampton;⁵⁷ but, although the king could quote Scripture to justify the bishop's action in this particular case,⁵⁸ Henry failed to show any lasting interest in this phase of the reform movement. Throughout his reign he continued to grant charters for markets and fairs in churches, chapels, cemeteries, and hospitals,⁵⁹ frequently in the face of episcopal canons and, after 1268, of legatine injunctions. In view of the explanation which shall be offered later of the means by which the sabbatarian reforms were instituted, it is interesting to note that all the removals were effected during the first half of the reign

the reform of markets during this period, were intimately connected with the secular government (Gibbs and Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 186 and 189).

⁵⁶ E.g., Wimborne and Malmesbury.

⁵⁷ *Epistolae*, p. 72: "Credimus autem quod dominus rex eadem devotione et benignitate gratum habebit, si alibi etiam secundum formam evangelii ementes et vendentes a locis sacris arceantur."

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71: "... ipsemet [rex] in hac parte allegans quod Dominus ejecit ementes et vendentes de templo."

⁵⁹ The charter rolls of the years 1227-72 contain numerous cases of this sort, of which a single example for each type of location may suffice. Grant in 1270 to the parson of East Tisted of a fair at his church (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, II, 150); grant in 1246 of a fair in the parish of St. Peter's at Marlborough, "circa ecclesia extra cimiterium et intra" (*Close Rolls*, 1242-47, p. 399); grant in 1258 to the rector of Brampton of a fair at the chapel of St. Luke's (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, II, 12); grant in 1239 of a fair at the hospital of St. John, Wycombe (*ibid.*, I, 244).

and that during the minority no charters were issued for markets in churchyards. Later the crown was to take a definite stand in this matter, for in 1285 Edward I forbade by royal statute the holding of markets and fairs in cemeteries;⁶⁰ but during the reign of Henry III no consistent policy was followed. The practice of the government toward Sunday markets, however, was more in keeping with the new spirit of reform.

Even though the campaign against Sunday markets was more successful than that which has just been described, and even though it seems obvious that some bishops were in sympathy with this aspect of sabbatarianism, it is again difficult to show any significant results from the diocesan constitutions. The wording of those canons (?1224-37) which have been attributed to Alexander Stavensby of Coventry-Lichfield indicates that the bishop was expected to set a proper example by transforming any Sunday market which he might own into a weekday market, but there seems to be no evidence that he so acted.⁶¹ In fact, the bishops appear to have paid little heed to their own statutes; the rolls contain only one case in which a secular prelate changed his own Sunday market,⁶² and in this case there were no accompanying constitutions. The truth is that most of the recorded changes oc-

⁶⁰ *Statutes at Large* (London, 1762), I, 236.

⁶¹ After the general prohibition of Sunday markets which has been quoted (cf. above, n. 35), this statement is added: "Quare decernimus mercatum nostrum de N. de caetero die Lunae frequentari" (Wilkins, I, 662). I have found no case which might correspond to the "N [omen]" of the formula. Again, however, it might be pointed out that reform had preceded precept. In 1153 Stephen had granted to the bishop of Lichfield Sunday markets at Lichfield and Eccleshall, and the grants had been confirmed by succeeding monarchs (*Hist. MSS Commission, 14th Report, Appendix VIII* [1895], pp. 217 and 218). The market at Lichfield had been changed to Friday in 1201, apparently as a result of the preaching of Eustace of Flay (Staffordshire Assize Roll, 5J, in *Wm. Salt Arch. Soc. Collections*, III [1882], 93), while that at Eccleshall was changed at some time before 1221, when it was designated as meeting on Thursday (*RLC*, I, 466b).

⁶² Cf. below, Appen., No. 21. Number 8 was for the cathedral church of Rouen. Other bishops may have made changes which do not appear in the records (see n. 79 below).

curred before the earliest of the surviving constitutions was made; the greatest activity took place before 1224; only four cases appear after 1227, none after 1240. It is as if a movement originating outside the episcopacy had spent itself before it was given support in the legislative efforts of the bishops. Nor can the silence of the rolls for the second half of the reign be construed to mean that all Sunday markets had been abolished, for the tenor of those constitutions issued after 1240 reflects a continuance of the evil.⁶³ The nature of the documents which inform us of changes made limits us to judgments concerning officially recognized markets, and it may be that the bishops directed some effort toward prohibiting the exchange of commodities at informal Sunday gatherings at churches. If so, their endeavors were no more fruitful, for the Hundred Rolls and Quo Warranto Rolls show that this practice was a flourishing one and that most frequently churchmen were responsible.⁶⁴

In two respects little effort seems to have been made to abolish trading on holy days. The spirit of the laws which we have described could allow little distinction between trade at markets and trade at fairs, and occasionally a statute referred specifically to both sorts of institutions.⁶⁵ Yet, in spite

⁶³ In addition to the constitutions already cited, see those of Exeter, 1287 (Wilkins, II, 145), which show the evil unabated in the next reign.

⁶⁴ See the examples given by Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 125. In 1275 the prior of Tyne-mouth was accused of having recently set up a market on Sunday without warrant (*Hundred Rolls*, II, 18), but, when the case was tried in 1292, it was denied that a real market existed: "... dicunt quod per diem Dominicam et alios dies festivos conveniunt apud Tynemuth plures homines propter Sanctum Oswinum et ecclesiam, et ibi emunt victualia et alia mercimonia que ibidem inveniunt" (Coram Rege Roll, 20 Ed. I, quoted by John Brand, *History of Newcastle* [London, 1789], II, 564). According to the prior, this custom was by no means unusual.

⁶⁵ E.g., Mansi, XXIII, 872: "Item, denunciuntur excommunicati omnes illi, qui diebus Dominicis et solennitatibus beatae Mariae, et aliis solennitatibus, frequentant mercata, et nundinas." Nevertheless, the canons usually refer to "mercata" only, and although the feast of the local patron saint was accounted most solemn, the prevailing habit of celebrating it with a fair was sometimes justified by canon, as in the constitutions of 1229 of Worcester (Wilkins, I, 624): "... nec

of the fact that most fairs violated some feast day and that all important fairs had at least one Sunday session, no changes were made in their schedules to obviate that discrepancy. In 1241 the bishop of Hereford secured an extension of the fair at his cathedral city from three days to six and, with this, the privilege of omitting any feast day from the reckoning;⁶⁶ perhaps the fair was adjourned on such days; but, if so, the owner's practice was unusual. As has been shown elsewhere,⁶⁷ changes in the dates of fairs would have interrupted seriously the economic life of the times, and they continued regularly to meet on Sundays and feast days. Again, there is nothing to indicate that weekday markets were ever recessed when the customary day fell on one of the great feasts which were treated in the canons as equally sacred with Sunday.

Whatever the attitude of the church may have been toward the illegal Sunday gatherings reported in the Quo Warranto Rolls, there was certainly an effort on the part of the crown to eradicate them. This attack was made not because they met on the Lord's day but because they operated without license, yet we can show an important change in legal practice which suggests that Henry's government was in sympathy with the sabbatarian movement. The principle that a market might be held only by virtue of, and in accordance with the terms of, a royal franchise had been vigorously maintained by John, who had fined those who had moved, without royal consent, a market from its designated day or place, even when the move had been made to preserve the

fora venalium in ipsis [coemeteriis] exerceantur, nisi in specialibus nundinis ecclesiae." Some fairs were specifically dated from a Sunday; e.g., that at Peterborough, belonging to the abbot, began on the second Sunday in Lent and continued through the following Sunday (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 21).

⁶⁶ No "dies festiva et celebris" to be counted (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 259).

⁶⁷ Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

sanctity of the Lord's day or of a cemetery.⁶⁸ The jealous maintenance of royal control over market franchises was continued during the reign of Henry III,⁶⁹ but this concession was made to the current reform program: an unofficial transfer of the market day from Sunday to a weekday was no longer punished but was apparently allowed to stand. The new attitude is observable as early as 1221, when itinerant justices in Gloucestershire found that the market at Winchcomb was being held on Monday instead of on the stipulated day of Sunday, and yet allowed the change to stand without amercing the owner.⁷⁰ By the middle of the century procedure seems to have been standardized. Bracton, in a list of articles of presentment for juries, says that the jurors are to be asked concerning markets moved without royal consent from one day to another, "nisi sit de die Dominica,"⁷¹ and the articles of inquiry for the justices at Lichfield in 1254, as reported by the Burton annalist, contain a like clause.⁷² Evidence of a negative sort as well suggests a sympathy with the abolition of Sunday markets which Henry III's predecessors had not shown. Whereas each king from the time of the Con-

⁶⁸ I have attempted to show elsewhere (*op. cit.*, pp. 83 and 84) that John's actions in this respect in 1202 and 1203 were in an effort to maintain regalian rights and to produce revenue by fines and not, as the chroniclers have it, out of a malicious desire to thwart reform.

⁶⁹ In addition to the instructions to justices noticed below in nn. 71 and 72, see those extracted from the memoranda roll of 35 Henry III by Thomas Madox in his *History of the Exchequer* (London, 1769), II, 103. Numerous pleas show the concern of the crown in enforcing its claim over markets (see, e.g., *Bracton's Note Book*, ed. F. W. Maitland [London, 1887], No. 578; Somerset Pleas 27 H III, *Som. Record Soc.*, XI [1897], 321; *Close Rolls*, 1242-47, p. 36, etc.). The stormy years at the end of John's reign and the minority tended to increase the number of illegal markets, and in 1227 a special effort was made to eliminate them (*RLC*, II, 170). Cases involving the legality of markets were strictly reserved to the royal courts (*Close Rolls*, 1247-51, p. 345). On this subject in general see L. F. Salzman, "The Legal Status of Markets," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, II (1928), 205-12.

⁷⁰ Cf. below, Appen., No. 19.

⁷¹ *De legibus . . . Angliæ* ("Rolls Series"), II, 246.

⁷² *An. Mon.*, I, 331: "De mercatis remotis ab uno die ad alium diem, sine licentia domini regis; et an si sit Dominica dies."

quest had granted charters for markets to be held on Sunday, that practice was not continued by Henry; of the hundreds of franchises issued by that ruler for English markets, only one seems to have designated Sunday as the legal day of session.⁷³ If the crown did not actually forbid Sunday markets—that prohibition was to come much later even than the banning of markets in cemeteries—at least it made easier the way of any who wished to make the reform on their own initiative, and it may well have discouraged those who applied for franchises for Sunday markets.

This new attitude on the part of the government furnishes a clue which may help in solving our problem of how the sabbatarian reform was actually instituted in England. Although we have assumed that the whole movement was initiated by the papacy, we have found chronological difficulties which make impossible any belief that the recorded changes were the result of a papal program passed on through the customary channels of episcopal legislation and discipline. A government in sympathy with the movement might, however, play a more active role in reform than that which has been described in the preceding paragraph, and there is much in the circumstances attending the recorded changes to show that the royal administration was largely responsible for the abolition of those Sunday markets. We need not in this fall into Prynne's error of ascribing these changes to Henry's own piety. It is beside the point to show that the king exhibited small regard for the sanctity of Sunday either in his private or in his public life, for there was little consistency in this respect even on the part of conscientious churchmen.⁷⁴ It is

⁷³ In 1226 Henry renewed an earlier grant of a Sunday market at Ferles in Ireland to the bishop of that city (*RLC*, II, 127). Similarly, in an *inspeximus* of 1268 he confirmed a grant of a Sunday market made by Henry II to the abbess of Romsey (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, II, 102). These two confirmations seem to be the only exceptions to be found in the rolls, and only one was for England.

⁷⁴ The testimony of the official rolls almost convinces one that Sunday was the favorite day for transacting business: on that day royal courts were regularly held (*Early Assize Rolls of Northumberland* [Surtees Society], LXXXVIII [1890], Preface,

sufficient to call to attention the fact that most of the changes in Sunday market franchises occurred before the personal rule of Henry III began, and the intervals between the isolated cases which are recorded after 1227 increase as the young king drew farther and farther from the influence of his early guardians. To understand just how the state may have been instrumental in the changes which occurred, we may first note the constituent elements in the government during the minority and then examine the personnel of the group of owners whose markets were removed from Sunday.

Of the three separate elements in the government established after the death of John in 1216, one was lay and two were ecclesiastical. William Marshal as "governor of the king and realm" (October, 1216—April, 1219), and after his death Hubert de Burgh as justiciar (until 1232), exercised great powers and signed most of the official documents. Neither man evinced elsewhere any interest in the sort of reform which concerns us here, and the fact that each attested a number of the letters authorizing Sunday market changes is to be laid to his official position rather than to personal conviction. The power of the legates, representatives of Honorius III as suzerain of England, rivaled if it did not surpass that of these lay officials. Gualo (until September, 1218) and Pandulf (September, 1218—April, 1221) each took an active part in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of the realm, acting always in close rapport with the curia at Rome; if the wider interests of Honorius III left a place for a concern

xiii, and *Bracton's Note Book*, Nos. 242, 248, 261, *et passim*); vassals were ordered to appear before the king, *ad loquendum* (*Close Rolls, 1227-31*, p. 579); armies were mustered (*ibid.*, p. 592); bishops met with the king to talk about the Welsh war (*ibid.*, p. 590); churchmen paid money into the treasury (*Close Rolls, 1242-47*, pp. 411 and 428), or even did business with Jews (*Close Rolls, 1234-37*, p. 110); etc. It was by Gualo's counsel that scutage was ordered paid on Sunday (*RLC, I, 377b*). Perhaps it is a little unfair to point out that at the period when canonists were increasingly concerning themselves with sabbatarian statutes, canon law was regularly taught on the Lord's day at Paris: "Tantum in causis decretalibus, quae dominicis diebus tractari consueverant" (Giraldus Cambrensis, *De rebus a se gestis, Opera*, I, 45; quoted by F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* [Oxford, 1928], p. 28, n. 5).

with sabbatarian reform—and we have assumed as much—these men were in a position both to know of that concern and to forward it by practical measures in England. It is not without significance that the earliest reforms of which we speak occurred while Gualo was a ruling force in the royal government and that, before the withdrawal of Pandulf, two-thirds of the changes recorded during the reign had been made.

Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, was a third factor in the government during the minority. In addition to exercising ill-defined advisory powers, he acted as guardian and tutor of the young king, and more than any other he was in a position to influence Henry during the latter's impressionable years. Peter des Roches has had with modern historians, as with his contemporaries, the reputation of a worldly and ambitious prelate, but he was within his own diocese an able administrator. In spite of his loyalty to John during the interdict, Peter showed himself after 1213 a faithful servant of the papacy, and his frequent correspondence with Rome and his continued close association with both Gualo and Pandulf after 1214 put him in a position to be immediately aware of the desires of the pope. In view of these circumstances and of the unique position which Peter occupied in the English episcopacy, it is extremely significant that on December 15, 1215, he obtained from John permission to have his weekly market at Farnham changed from Sunday to Thursday.⁷⁵ This case was an isolated one, not connected with the numerous changes of the early years of John's reign and not accompanied by similar acts elsewhere. The close connection between the bishop of Winchester and the papacy and the former's intimate association at this time with the legates suggest that he may have received the impetus for the reform of his own market from Rome, and the turbulent conditions obtaining in England during the last year of John's

⁷⁵ *RLC*, I, 242.

reign may explain why no further efforts were made at the time to extend the reform to other markets. For during the civil wars markets in some regions were completely interrupted, and elsewhere they were continued only through a method that aggravated current sacrilegious practices, since merchants in their desire for safety transferred their operations into churchyards.⁷⁶ But with the return of peace after the treaty of Kingston in 1217 normal activities were resumed, and soon thereafter begin the records of Sunday markets being moved to other days. The fact that several of these changes were made in the presence of the bishops of London and of Winchester may or may not have significance,⁷⁷ but it is my belief that it was through the latter's influence, as well as through that of Gualo and Pandulf, that the desire of the pope to abolish Sunday markets was translated into action in England in 1218 and the years immediately following.

It has been shown that no royal statute was enacted at this time to suppress Sunday markets and that not all such institutions disappeared. If, then, some effort was made by the legates and the bishop of Winchester, unofficially but through their political position rather than through their ecclesiastical powers, to promote a sabbatarian reformation, that fact should be reflected in the ownership of the markets which were removed from Sunday: that is, we might reasonably expect their efforts to have been exerted most successfully upon market owners particularly close, or in some fashion obligated, to the crown. The identification of the owners

⁷⁶ The effect of the civil war on the market at Chagford is alluded to in a suit described by Salzman ("The Legal Status of Markets," *loc. cit.*, p. 208). The "feria de draperia" at Worcester was evidently moved because of the war (*RLC*, II, 136*b*). Roger of Wendover (*Flores historiarum* ["Rolls Series"], II, 166) describes conditions under which trade was conducted in 1216: "Nundinae cum mercatis cessabant, res venales in coemeteriis agebantur."

⁷⁷ Cf. below, Appen., Nos. 11, 12, 15. Gualo was also present when a number of the changes were made, although his name does not appear on the letters (see Nos. 8, 9, 10).

of the markets in question is sometimes a tedious chore. In the absence of a proper seal, no permanent grants were made between 1216 and 1227, and new or confirmed franchises are to be found in the Close Rolls; in these, a letter directing the sheriff of a particular county to permit the day of a certain market to be changed might omit the owner's name.⁷⁸ The reforms in question came so soon after a period of rapid fluctuation in the tenure of lands and liberties that the establishment of proprietorship as of a given date is sometimes difficult. In most cases, however, the identification can be made with fair certainty, and the results are interesting in view of the influence which, as has been suggested, the legates and Peter des Roches may have had through the royal government.

The official records contain references to some thirty markets which between 1218 and 1240 were removed from Sunday to another day; other cases probably exist which cannot so readily be determined.⁷⁹ These markets were divided about equally between the crown, the prelacy, and the lay feudality. (1) The first category would include markets in royal manors or towns or appurtenant to benefices under disposition of the king, and for our purposes those which were being administered as escheats or wardships.⁸⁰ In these cases the initiative came quite obviously from the government or, if our theory is correct, from the ecclesiastical group named above. (2) As has been shown above, few episcopally owned markets were

⁷⁸ After 1227 the usual process was to command the sheriff in a letter close to permit the change and then to issue a new charter; see, e.g., the case of Brenchley in 1230 (*Close Rolls*, 1227-31, p. 340, and *Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 123).

⁷⁹ E.g., in 1215 John had confirmed the bishop of Emly in Ireland in his possession of a Sunday market in his cathedral city (*RLC*, I, 219*b*), but in 1244 the market was designated as of Saturday (*Cal. Doc. Ireland*, I, No. 2673). I have found no record of the change, but it had not recently been made in 1244. Similarly, the bishop of Hereford had a Sunday market at Lydbury North, Salop, in 1201 (*Rotuli de liberate* [London, 1844], p. 12); in 1249 it was held on Friday (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 340), but the date of the change is not apparent.

⁸⁰ Appen., Nos. 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 18, 28; questionable, Nos. 17, 19, 20.

affected,⁸¹ but a number belonging to monastic houses were removed from Sunday.⁸² Some of these houses were in one fashion or other dependent on the crown, some of the abbots owed their advancement to the king, and, in most cases where information is available about the ruling head of the house, he is found to be closely associated with the administration in such capacities as his rank and abilities warranted. It need not be said that individual abbots were never motivated by personal convictions or episcopal pressure, but it can be shown that most of these men belonged to what has been called the "curial" class and that in each case there were more or less significant reasons why the abbot may have found it prudent to participate in a program sponsored by the state. (3) The remaining markets belonged to lay nobles.⁸³ Politically they were a heterogeneous lot. One or two had records of unwavering fidelity to the crown, but most of them were men who had been on the baronial side at some time between 1215 and 1217 and had seen their lands go through the normal processes of confiscation and restoration. With hardly an exception, however, they were men of importance, and the majority of them served the government during the minority in one office or another. In so many instances—and this is true of the clerically owned markets as well as those of the laity—is the change from Sunday accompanied or immediately followed by favors or new concessions in lands or franchises that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that reform, if not actually purchased, was at least materially encouraged by the crown.⁸⁴ Again there is no need to rule out all considerations of personal religiosity—several of the nobles after their absolution from excommuni-

⁸¹ N. 62.

⁸² Appen., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 11, 14, 15, 26, 30; questionable, No. 19.

⁸³ Appen., Nos. 4, 7, 13, 16, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29; questionable, Nos. 17, 20, 31.

⁸⁴ See the Appendix, *passim*, but especially Nos. 3, 4, 7, 14, 16, 20, 21, 24, 29, 30, 31.

cation had shown contrition by pilgrimages and other conventional acts of piety—but again there is enough evidence to warrant the assumption that these men were moved to abolish their Sunday markets by a government under papal influence rather than by the bishops or an unknown popular reformer.

In the absence of further contemporary evidence in respect to the reform movement which we have described, it would be hazardous to attempt to give a final explanation of its origin in England and the agents through which it was propagated. The very silence of the chroniclers, however, makes it highly improbable that this movement was initiated by a popular preacher, as had been that of 1201, while insuperable chronological difficulties arise when any effort is made to explain the reforms in terms of the enforcement of episcopal legislation. The theory which has been advanced above—that certain Sunday markets were removed to weekdays as the result of pressure from the English crown while the government was under the control of a papacy interested in sabbatarian reforms—this theory is weakened by the absence of specific mandates from pope to legate, but it at least answers the pragmatic test for truth by fitting all the present available data. Regardless of its ultimate source, the whole movement both in its administrative and in its legislative aspects is additional proof, if such be necessary, that there was more interest in Sunday observance in the Middle Ages than has frequently been assumed.

APPENDIX

In this appendix an effort is made to give for each of the markets known to have been changed from Sunday during the reign of Henry III the following data: the location, the date of the change, a reference to the document indicating the change, the new day of meeting, and the owner. Where the owner is not named in the document, an attempt is made to identify him from other sources, and in each case some information is given which

may explain his particular reason for having participated in the sabbatarian reform movement. The markets are listed in the chronological order of their change.

1. FARINGDON, BERKS/March 7, 1218/*RLC*, I, 354/Monday/owner not named. The original day of this market is not stipulated, but the wording of the letter close commanding the change and its proximity to those which follow suggest that it had previously met on Sunday. It belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu, to which John had granted Greater and Lesser Faringdon when he had founded the house in 1204 (*Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum* [London, 1846], V, 683), and to which belonged the fair of Faringdon (*RLC*, I, 486). Beaulieu remained a favorite foundation of both John and Henry III. The ruling abbot, Hugh, served both those kings in diplomatic missions, but his conduct in his own house was so scandalous that he was deposed, only to be appointed bishop of Carlisle by Gualo (Gibbs and Lang, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 72). The Worcester annalist dates his translation August 2, 1218, and speaks of him then as the quondam abbot (*An. Mon.*, IV, 410), but his deposition was much earlier; it may be that the house, a royal foundation, was being administered for the crown, in which case the origin of the reform is obvious. Gualo's interest in the house is shown by his support of Hugh.

2. THATCHAM, BERKS/March 16, 1218/*RLC*, I, 355b/Thursday/abbot of Reading. The original day is not herein stipulated, but this market had been held on Sunday as early as the time of Henry I (*VCH, Berks*, III, 312) and as recently as the time of Richard I (*Mon. Ang.*, IV, 42, no. xi); its connection with the next-named market makes it highly probable that the Sunday market still existed.

3. LEOMINSTER, HEREFORD/March 16, 1218/*RLC*, I, 355b/Thursday/abbot of Reading. Whether from a clerical error or because the letter close went unheeded, this market was a year later ordered changed from Sunday to Saturday (April 21, 1219 [*RLC*, I, 390b]). The abbot at this time was one Simon (1214-26). He had acted for John as a diplomat (*ibid.*, p. 175) and during the minority continued to serve the crown, being appointed itinerant justice in 1218 (*Pat. Rolls, 1216-25*, p. 209); he was one of the signators of the patent of the same year which established a new seal and forbade grants in perpetuity (*ibid.*, p. 177). He was also in close touch with the papacy and with the legates in England. In 1215 he had been appointed by Innocent III to excommunicate the rebel barons, being associated in this commission with Peter des Roches and Pandulf (*Hist. MSS Commission, 5th Report* [1876], Appen., p. 454). In 1218 Pandulf made Simon his delegate to settle an ecclesiastical dispute, and the abbot served Honorius III several times in a similar capacity (Bliss, *Papal Letters*, I, 88, 92). He received soon after the market was changed a confirmation of the liberties of his house (*RLC*, I, 365b, 390).

4. BRACKLEY, NORTHANTS/March 16, 1218/*RLC*, I, 355*b*/Wednesday/no owner named. This market was appurtenant to the manor of Brackley (*N. Hants N. & Q.*, III, 144), which at the death of Robert Fitz-Parnell, earl of Leicester, in 1204 had come to Saer de Quency through his wife Margaret, the earl's sister (Dugdale, *Baronage* [London, 1675], p. 686); in 1208-9 Saer held the fief *in capite* (*Book of Fees* [London, 1920], I, 17). Saer de Quency, earl of Winchester, was active in the rebellion against John; he was one of the twenty-five guarantors of Magna Carta, and, espousing the cause of the French prince, he was captured at Lincoln Fair. His lands had been declared forfeit by John, and Brackley with its market had been given into the hands of Theodore de Sotingham (March 26, 1216 [*RLC*, I, 256]), but in March, 1217, the new government gave the younger William Marshall charge over all of Saer's lands (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, pp. 49 and 55). When a few months later Saer returned to allegiance, William was ordered to restore those lands (*ibid.*, p. 98). This command was not fully obeyed, for some estates, still held by royal escheators, were again ordered restored March 15, 1218 (*RLC*, I, 355*b*). The very next letter in the close rolls authorized the change of the Sunday market at Brackley, so that it seems obvious that the reform was part of the price of the restitution.

5. BERKHAMPSTEAD, HERTS/May 8, 1218/*RLC*, I, 361/Monday/no owner named. The honor of Berkhamstead, to which the market belonged, had been settled by John on his wife Isabella in 1204, but she had never received seizin; in 1213 one Theodoricus Theutonicus had been appointed custodian (*RLC*, I, 154*b*), and he continued to administer it until 1220 (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 254). Henry III had meanwhile confirmed Isabella's title in November, 1217 (*RLC*, I, 293), but she did not receive actual possession until 1222 (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 329). Theodoricus was a faithful henchman to both John and his son, and whether the market be considered as royal or as being administered in wardship, it was certainly under control of the crown when the change in day occurred.

6. WALLINGFORD, BERKS/July 28, 1218/*RLC*, I, 366*b*/Monday/no owner named. This market had been held on Saturday in 1087 (*DB*, I, 56), but in the reign of Henry II it was meeting on Sunday (*Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon* ["Rolls Series"] II, 227). Both the market and the fair at the same place were royal property (John spoke of "mercatum nostrum de Wal" [*RLC*, I, 175; cf. *ibid.*, II, 188*b*]). On May 25, 1218, the honor of Wallingford, with appurtenances, was granted to Henry's younger brother, Richard of Cornwall (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 155). It seems obvious that neither the nine-year-old prince nor his guardian, Peter de Mauley, was responsible for the reform, but rather those in charge of the state.

7. NORTH MOLTON, DEVON/July 28, 1218/*RLC*, I, 366*b*/Thursday/no owner named. This market belonged to Roger de la Zouche, who had held the manor of North Molton, with appurtenances, in 1212 (*Book of Fees*,

I, 99), and who, on the same day that the market was changed, received a new franchise for a fair at the same place (*RLC*, I, 366*b*); as elsewhere, it is as if a royal concession was made as a reward for the reform. Roger had remained loyal throughout the baronial revolt and had been recompensed by numerous grants of confiscated lands and of privileges (consult indexes of the Close Rolls and Patent Rolls under his name). Later he was made sheriff of Devonshire (*Pat. Rolls*, 1225-32, p. 226). His close and profitable connection with Henry's administration may explain his interest in market reform.

8. KINGSCLERE, HANTS/August 23, 1218/*RLC*, I, 368*b*/Saturday/no owner named. It is difficult to tell with certainty who held this market on this date. The manor of Kingsclere, with the market, had earlier belonged to the cathedral church of St. Mary's, Rouen (J. H. Round, *Cal. Doc. . . . France*, Nos. 22 and 56). The lands of St. Mary's in England were evidently confiscated in 1204, for in 1206 the canons were petitioning for their return (*RLC*, I, 70). When they were returned I cannot say: Peter des Roches was holding some of them in 1208 (*ibid.*, p. 100), but Kingsclere was returned before 1221, at which time it was momentarily taken over at the death of the archbishop (*ibid.*, p. 466). The market still went with the manor in 1227 (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 46). The archbishop and canons, now alien proprietors, would have every reason to humor an English government interested in reform. Similar efforts being made in France at the same time may have had some effect. It is interesting to note that the archbishop, Robert Pullus, had himself issued some pietistic legislation and had had some contact with Gualo, who had been present at his election (*Gallia Christiana*, XI, 59), and that the legate was present at Winchester when the letter authorizing the change was issued.

9. BLANDFORD, DORSET/August 24, 1218/*RLC*, I, 368*b*/Saturday/no owner named. Apparently this market was being administered as an escheat. In 1222 it was found by inquest that the manor of Blandford, with appurtenances, had been given by Geoffrey Martel to Ralph de Tyly as dowry for the former's daughter Oliva; on the death of Ralph, John had seized the property because Oliva was residing in Normandy, and she did not regain seizin until 1222 (*RLC*, I, 487). This change was, then, the work of the royal government.

10. WIMBORNE, DORSET/August 24, 1218/*RLC*, I, 368*b*/Monday/no owner named. A letter close of a few years later (*RLC*, II, 4) shows that this market belonged to the deanery of Wimborne, a benefice at the disposal of the king (in 1223 Henry III presented Martin de Pateshull, the famous justice, "ad decanatum de Wimburne, vacantem et ad donationem domini regis spectantem" [*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 416]), and used by him to reward his officials (*VCH, Dorset*, II, 109). When later the market was taken from the cemetery it was on the king's initiative (see above, n. 51),

and the same is evidently true in this change. This order and that dealing with Blandford above occur in the same letter; Gualo was at Winchester when it was issued.

11. STAINES, MIDDLESEX/November 5, 1218/*RLC*, I, 381*b*/Friday/no owner named. Apparently this market pertained to the abbot of Westminster, who owned the fair at the same place (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 67), and who later claimed the market as of ancient right (*Hundred Rolls*, I, 418). The abbot was William de Humez (1214-22), who had been appointed by the legate Nicholas de Tusculum after the deposition of his predecessor.

12. HATFIELD, ESSEX/November 17, 1218/*RLC*, I, 381*b*/Saturday/no owner named. This market seems to have been attached to the manor of Hatfield Regis. The manor had remained in the hands of the king until shortly before this time (Thomas Wright, *History of Essex* [London, 1836], II, 309), but in October, 1217, it had, with its appurtenances, been granted to William de Cassingham to support him in the king's service (*RLC*, I, 328*b*; herein described as "manerium nostrum") and was probably in the former's possession when the market was changed. William was a Fleming who had taken an active part in the campaigns against the French invaders (Kate Norgate, *John Lackland*, p. 280) and who occupied a position of trust during the minority in conducting rebel barons to their renewal of allegiance and in guarding prisoners and confiscated lands (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, pp. 25, 56, 57, 76, 101). The nature of William's tenure makes it strongly probable that the government was instrumental in effecting the reform. The assumption that this may be treated as a royal market is strengthened by the fact that the Saturday market at Sawbridgeworth, though of long standing, was soon after forced to change to Friday because it was damaging to the new Saturday market at Hatfield (*RLC*, I, 531, 540*b*), an entirely illegal process. The letter close abolishing the Sunday market was given *coram* Peter des Roches and the bishop of London, in whose diocese Hatfield lay.

13. LILBOURNE, NORTHANTS/January 6, 1219/*RLC*, I, 385/Monday/no owner named. This letter commanding the change of the Sunday market at "Lilleburñ" is directed to the sheriff of Worcester; I can find no such place in that county and think the reference is to Lilbourne in Northants rather than to Lilburn in Yorkshire, at both of which places markets were to be found. An interesting account of the market at Lilbourne is given in an inquest of Edward III's reign (*Quo Warranto Rolls*, pp. 536-37), and its involved history can be traced elsewhere. The manor of Lilbourne, with appurtenant market, was held in John's time by Roger de Camville; at his death it passed to his daughter Matilda, but it reverted to Roger's three sisters when Matilda died without issue and continued to be held jointly by their heirs. Who held the market in January, 1219, is difficult to say. Roger de Camville was still alive in April, 1216 (*RLC*, I, 258). Matilda

married Nigel de Mowbray before 1222 (according to the *Progenies Mowbraiorum* in *Mon. Ang.*, VI, 320b, the marriage took place before the death of Nigel's father, which occurred in 1222), and from that event until the death of Nigel in 1230 he held the market.

14. WITHAM, ESSEX/January 23, 1219/*RLC*, I, 386/Tuesday/no owner named. A market had been held on the manor of Witham since the days of Henry I; it had been granted to the Templars by Stephen, and the grant had been confirmed by John (*Rotuli chartarum*, I, 2). The market still belonged to the order in 1227 (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 8) and hence was evidently Templar property when the change was made. The master of the order in England was Amaury de St. Maur, whose intimate connection with the financial and political affairs of the kingdom is shown in the official rolls of the period. Just before the reform of the market at Witham, Henry III had confirmed to the Templars the charities granted by previous kings (*RLC*, I, 382).

15. PERSHORE, WORCESTER/January 30, 1219/*RLC*, I, 387/Tuesday/no owner named. Other contemporary records show that this market was held jointly by the abbots of Pershore and of Westminster (*VCH, Worcester*, IV, 152), though the fair at Pershore belonged to the former alone (*RLC*, II, 103). The interest of the abbot of Westminster in the reform movement we have already noticed in the case of his market at Staines (see above, No. 11). This letter close, like that authorizing the change at Staines, was dated from Westminster and attested by Peter des Roches. The abbot of Pershore was Gervase (1204-34), who was accounted a good administrator but who seems to have had no intimate relations with the government (*VCH, Worc.*, II, 132). It is typical of the illogical nature of the reforms of the period that, in spite of having put down his Sunday market, the abbot of Pershore continued to hold his fair in the churchyard of Holy Cross (*ibid.*, IV, 152).

16. RASEN, LINCOLN/August 22, 1219/*RLC*, I, 398b/Tuesday/no owner named. Apparently this market belonged to Hugh Paynell, who had held the manor in 1204 (*RLC*, I, 46), and who still had it in 1242 (*Book of Fees*, II, 1004). The exact location of this market is obscured by the fact that Hugh held in Rasen, East Rasen, Middle Rasen, and West Rasen, and that these places are not always carefully distinguished in the texts. Hugh was in opposition to the king in 1216, and his estates were confiscated, but those in Lincolnshire were restored in August, 1217 (*RLC*, I, 320). The very next letter in the roll after that authorizing the change of the Sunday market at Rasen granted to Hugh a new market at West Rasen, and on the same day the sheriff of Yorkshire was commanded to restore to the former rebel his lands at Drax (*ibid.*, p. 399). Certainly this appears to be a case where a market owner was willing to make a reform desired by the government in return for favors granted.

17. ROTHWELL, NORTHANTS/before October 29, 1219/*RLC*, I, 406*b*/Monday/no owner named. This market had been removed from Sunday to Monday in 1202 because of the preaching of Eustace of Flay, but in 1207 it was restored to Sunday (Cate, *op. cit.*, p. 82). It had then belonged to Richard, earl of Clare, who with his son Gilbert took an active part in the rebellion against John; both were excommunicated by Innocent III, and their estates, including Rothwell, were confiscated (*RLC*, I, 287*b*). Richard returned to service in October, 1217, and Rothwell was restored to him (*ibid.*, p. 327*b*), but at his death a month later his lands were again taken into the hands of the crown. Gilbert received seizin of the lands in Gloucester, but the lands and liberties which his father had held in Rothwell were turned over to Michael de Langborough to administer as royal bailiff (*ibid.*, p. 344*b*; cf. *Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 128; the date is November 28, 1217). Rothwell was later given to Gilbert, but at what date I have been unable to learn. On October 29, 1219, it was found that the market there was to the detriment of that of Harborough because it had recently been changed to Monday ("de novo levatum est"), and it was ordered changed again. No record seems to exist which gives the date of the removal from Sunday to Monday, but two possibilities concerning its ownership at that time suggest themselves: the reform may have been made while Rothwell was in the hands of the escheator, or by Gilbert after he had received that part of his inheritance.

18. PORCHESTER, HANTS/March 4, 1220/*RLC*, I, 412*b*/Saturday/royal market. No owner is named in this letter, but later commands to the sheriff to proclaim the change show that the market belonged to the king ("mercatum domini regis" [*RLC*, II, 24*b*; and cf. *Close Rolls*, 1234-37, p. 266]).

19. WINCHCOMB, GLOUCESTER/before June 21, 1221/*F. W. Maitland, Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester* (London, 1884), p. 12/Monday/no owner named. This change had been made without royal warrant, but the justices-in-eyre allowed the new date to stand and levied no fine for the infraction against royal prerogative. How long before the change had been made cannot be determined, for no pleas had been held in the county for years (Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. xx). Ownership is not certain. The same assize roll refers to the local fair as belonging to the town, but in 1224 the abbot of Winchcomb seems to have owned it (*RLC*, I, 610); at that time he was holding the town at farm. It is interesting to note that two of the justices who allowed the illegal change to go unpunished, the abbot of Reading and Martin de Pateshull, owned markets which underwent similar reforms during this period.

20. HENLEY, WARWICK/before July 3, 1221/*RLC*, I, 463*b*/Monday/Peter de Montfort. During the reign of Stephen the empress Maud had granted to Thurston de Montfort a Sunday market at Henley (Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 407; here it is called Beaudesert, the castle at Henley—the

two names are used interchangeably), which continued to be held until the reign of Henry II (*ibid.*, p. 408). At the death of a later Thurston (?III) in 1216, John took his lands in wardship for the heir, Peter de Montfort (*RLC*, I, 279), and the new government in 1217 gave ward and heir into the custody of William de Cantilupe, royal steward and sheriff of Warwickshire (November 21 [*ibid.*, p. 293*b*]). Permission to hold the market on Monday in 1221 was given in the name of Peter (and repeated, as the market of Beaudesert, on February 10, 1227 [*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 5]), but it was still in the custody of William on June 6, 1227 (*RLC*, II, 188*b*), and it is with his consent that the change must have been made. Hence it is significant that the charter of 1227 is followed immediately in the roll by another market franchise in favor of William.

21. HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND/October 21, 1222/*RLC*, I, 515/Monday/archbishop of York. Walter Gray, the present incumbent, had been an obsequious tool of John's, and that monarch had rewarded him liberally for his services and had supported his candidacy for the archiepiscopal office. During Henry's minority Walter continued loyal to the crown, serving in a number of important capacities. He had been at the Fourth Lateran, was in constant communication with the papal court, and was closely associated with both Gualo and Pandulf. The occasion for the market reform seems to have been his return from a pilgrimage to Compostella (*RLC*, I, 510). Some months later he received from Henry the gift of several other markets and a fair at Hexham (*ibid.*, pp. 536 and 536*b*).

22. WARKWORTH, NORTHUMBERLAND/April 25, 1223/*RLC*, I, 543/Wednesday/John Fitz-Robert.

23. ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND/April 26, 1223/*RLC*, I, 543/Monday/John Fitz-Robert. The lord of Warkworth was a noble of considerable importance in the North; he had been a leader in the revolt against John and one of the executors of Magna Carta. His lands had been confiscated but had been restored on his return to service in 1217 (*RLC*, I, 316*b* and 338*b*). He had some official business with Walter Gray (*ibid.*, p. 474*b*), and the archbishop's reform of his own market may have had some influence on Fitz-Robert. This nobleman, like so many others whose Sunday markets were abolished, was in the service of the crown, being appointed sheriff of Northumberland in 1224 and custodian of the ports in 1225 (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, pp. 496 and 522).

24. SNAITH, YORKS/August 26, 1223/*RLC*, I, 561/Friday/John de Lacy. As constable of Chester, John de Lacy had occupied an important position under John. He had forsaken that king in 1216 but was pardoned by Henry's government, and his lands were restored in August, 1217 (*RLC*, I, 318). He had been excommunicated by Innocent III and had gone on crusade to Damietta, returning in 1220 (*An. Mon.*, III, 60). The official documents show him a trusted official until he joined his kinsman

Ralph de Lacy in revolt in the autumn of 1223 (Norgate, *Minority of Henry III*, p. 204). At the time of the market change, however, he was still at least openly faithful: on August 18 he was one of the witnesses of the patent announcing the clerical aid for the campaign against Falks de Bréauté (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 465); he had recently received minor favors from the government (*ibid.*, p. 457); and three days after his market reform, perhaps as reward for his piety, he received a loan of £100 from the treasury (*RLC*, I, 561).

25. FAWSLEY, NORTHANTS/May 20, 1224/*RLC*, I, 599b/Thursday/Hugo Rufus. The manor and market of Fawsley had been granted by John to Hugo Rufus, and in 1214 there had been some question as to the legality or the propriety of the current Sunday session, but by inquisition it was found that the market had met on Sunday since the reign of Henry II, and it was allowed so to continue (*RLC*, I, 207). Hugo remained faithful to John until the spring of 1216 (*ibid.*, p. 264b) but joined the rebels thereafter; he returned to service October 26, 1217, and received seizin of his confiscated lands (*ibid.*, p. 332b). Within a short time he had found favor with the new government. In 1222 he was pardoned part of a fine incurred during the previous reign (*ibid.*, p. 493b); in 1224 he was appointed justice in a case of novel disseizin in Suffolk (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, pp. 397 and 480); in 1225 he was named to assist in the collection of the fifteenth in Norfolk and Suffolk (*ibid.*, p. 564), and to act as sheriff in those counties (*ibid.*, p. 532). The change in the character of the government is enough to explain why this official who had resisted reform in 1214 was willing to accept it ten years later.

26. WENLOCK, SALOP/September 25, 1224/*RLC*, I, 622/Monday/no owner named. This market belonged to the Cluniac priory of St. Milburg, Wenlock, as is shown by the charter issued on the renewal of grants in 1227 (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 17). The prior was one Richard who had been translated from the priory of Bermondsey in 1220 (*An. Ber.*, in *An. Mon.*, III, 455). Henry III frequently stopped at Wenlock; he sent its priors on diplomatic and other missions (*Cal. Lib. Rolls*, I, 191, 332; *Pat. Rolls*, 1225-32, p. 477); and he possessed some rights of advowson at Wenlock (*Book of Fees*, II, 1283). Whether he played any part in Richard's election I have not determined.

27. SKELTON, YORKS/December 25, 1227/*Close Rolls*, 1227-31, p. 9/Monday/Peter de Brus. The manor and market of Skelton had belonged to Peter de Brus II, an adherent of Louis' whose lands had been confiscated (*RLC*, I, 249b) and restored after he returned to loyalty (*ibid.*, p. 397b). In 1222 the manor and market were inherited by his son, Peter III (*Excerpta Rot. Fin. Hen. III*, I, 80). A number of documents show that the younger Peter was in close accord with the crown from the beginning of his tenure (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, pp. 450 and 465); in 1226 he was ap-

pointed justice in Northumberland (*RLC*, II, 151*b*), and in 1231, forest justice (*Close Rolls*, 1227-31, p. 585). The reform was not a permanent one; in 1292 the market was again meeting on Sunday (*Quo Warranto Rolls*, p. 210), but in 1319 it was removed from Sunday, this time to Saturday (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, III, 414).

28. PORTSMOUTH, HANTS/December 12, 1228/Monday/*Close Rolls*, 1227-31, p. 136/no owner named. Richard I had granted a Thursday market to the men of Portsmouth in 1194, and the same day had been named in confirmations by John (*Rot. Chart.*, I, 77) in 1200 and by Henry III in 1229 (*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 106). The present market, located "ad crucem versus Portesdun," is evidently a different one; but, since Portsmouth was a royal town, the king may be counted responsible for the change.

29. BRENCHLEY, KENT/April 29, 1230/*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 123/Wednesday/Hamo de Crevequer. Hamo had been a rebel baron, had lost his lands, and had regained them when he returned to service in 1217 (*RLC*, I, 312*b*, 321). Like many of his kind, he had been on pilgrimage to Compostella (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 369). The immediate occasion for this market reform seems to have been Hamo's departure for the campaign in Poitou (*Pat. Rolls*, 1225-32, p. 360). At the same time that the market was changed from Sunday, it was removed from the churchyard where it had been held. Hamo was an important figure in the defense of the east coast (*Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, pp. 35 and 91), and received many lucrative grants from the king. As in so many previous cases, the reform of his market was accompanied by the gift of a new franchise for a fair.

30. BARDNEY, LINCOLN/January 20, 1232/*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 147/Thursday/St. Oswald's, Bardney. The abbot of this house was Adam de Ascwardy, who had been elected by royal consent in 1223 (*Pat. Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 381). I have found little about the character of Adam, though his name appears frequently in contemporary rolls as a litigant. In 1234 he was appointed justice in Lincolnshire (*Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, p. 77). In the charter which authorized the change of the market from Sunday, the abbot was given free warren in a number of manors.

31. FINEL (*sic*), location uncertain/August 22, 1240/*Cal. Chart. Rolls*, I, 253/Friday/William de Neville. This place has not been identified by the editors of the Charter Rolls, nor is it clear which of the several William de Neville's who flourished during Henry III's reign is meant. In 1232 a Master William de Neville, treasurer of Chichester (and apparently a kinsman of the bishop, Ralph Neville), was granted a fair at Eastbourne, Sussex (*ibid.*, p. 151), but this charter was in favor of William "and successors," that at Finel to William "and heirs," and hence the identification of the two is doubtful. In 1231 Radulfus de Neovilla *et al.*, were summonsed by Gilbert de Gant in a suit concerning their market at "Fingeslegha," then being held to the damage of Gilbert's market at Hunmanby, East Riding,

Yorks (*Bracton's Note Book*, No. 494). A charter of John's of 1204 had mentioned a certain "villam de Finele" in the neighborhood of Hunmanby (*Rot. Chart.*, I, 123*b*), and it is possible that "Fingeslegha" and "Finel" are the same and that William de Neville was the heir of Radulfus. If so, the market was that of Filey, which in 1256 was again the subject of a suit, when it was claimed that it was to the damage of that of Scarborough (in the *Calendarium rotulorum patentium* [London, 1802], p. 28, the place is given as "Finele"; in the same document in the *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1247-58, p. 477, it is "Fivele," which is a more common spelling for Filey). At any rate, the owner was probably the William de Neville to whom Henry III made a gift of 40s. shortly before the Sunday market was changed (*Cal. Lib. Rolls*, 1226-40, p. 448).

THE ORIGIN OF THE TOWN OF SUBIACO

*

GENEVA DRINK WATER

THE town of Subiaco, like many Italian hill towns, is surmounted by a castle, the nucleus around which it grew. And as the castle and the streets winding down the hill and stretching along the river illustrate the growth of the town so the documents in the archives of the near-by monastery disclose the manner of its growth. The castle, which was owned by the monastery, was the shield which afforded protection to the people who lived near it. In time it came to be an incumbrance which had to be thrown off by the people seeking a more independent life. It may be said that it was because of the monastery that a settlement grew up at this place. The monks took the initiative in clearing and cultivating the land. The castle of the monastery was a place of refuge for the workers on its soil. It came to be an administrative and trading center as people brought their grain to be ground in the mills of the monastery that used the water power of the Anio River and exchanged their goods in the market place near-by. When the people who tilled the monastery's lands and worked at tasks within the castle walls grew strong and conscious of their power, they threw off the abbot's feudal domination and in an agreement with him attained recognition of their independence. This concerted action of the townsmen of Subiaco in the year 1193 forms the central point of this paper.

The fortified hilltop, *castellum*, around which the town of Subiaco grew, was given to the monastery of St. Benedict at

Subiaco by Pope Leo VII in the year 937.¹ How long before that time the fortification was made we cannot say; perhaps it was built by Pope Leo IV in the preceding century as a defense against the Saracens, who ravaged the territory and probably destroyed the monastery. This gift to the monastery was made at the request of Alberic, member of the powerful senatorial family of Theophylact and virtual ruler of Rome. He was interested in bringing the Cluniac reform to Italy and in the general restoration of monasteries after the Saracenic raids. But he probably made the monastery of Subiaco the particular object of his generosity because of its strategic location in the region east of Rome in the midst of powerful leaders loath to recognize any central authority. An important result of this policy, whether motivated by pious considerations or the need for defense, was the reconstruction of a devastated area and the establishment of conditions favorable to agriculture. This brought more people to the region and made of the castle which protected its land a more important center of administration and defense.

The gift of Leo VII to the monastery in 937 included, in addition to the fortification, all of its lands, vineyards, fields, meadows, pastures, forests, orchards, rivers, springs, buildings, *coloni* male and female, dues collected for grazing and pasturage, and any other tax belonging to the castle which it was customary to render to the church.² The *coloni* are not enumerated in this document, but in the gift of John XVIII in 1005 they are listed, and they included at that time seven heads of families with their sons and daughters or their brothers, sisters, wives, and their children.³

Unfortunately there is no description of the *castellum* in these early documents. It seems likely that the fortification was made of stone and wood. The region abounds in a soft,

¹ Allodi e Levi (eds.), *Il Regesto Sublacense del secolo XI* (Rome, 1885), n. 16. Hereinafter cited as *Regesto*.

² *Regesto*, n. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 10.

porous stone which is easily cut and hardens when exposed to the air. And we have at least one instance of the use of stone for building in this vicinity in the tenth century in a lease made by the abbot of Subiaco. He leased for three generations half a mountain near Tivoli on condition that the lessee build a *castellum* and a wall of tufa on the land.⁴ Moreover, the ruins of Nero's villa along the river between the castle and the monastery afforded building material which was utilized by the monastery many different times and may have been used in the *castellum*.

In the course of the tenth century its holdings were multiplied by gifts "from emperors, Roman pontiffs and other God-fearing men," in the words of an old chronicle of the monastery.⁵ Chief among these were Alberic, his son Pope John XII, and other members of his family. The only important gift to the monastery of which we have record before the donation of this family was made by Pope John X in 926.⁶ This document shows the monastery in possession of land within a radius of about three miles of the monastery and of property in and near Rome and Tivoli as well. Its holdings were greatly increased in the century that followed. In 1005, when Pope John XVIII made a gift to the monastery, the document conveying the gift and listing the possessions of the monastery covers seven folio pages printed.⁷ If we locate on a map the places mentioned, they are seen to form roughly a triangle covering the great bend of the Anio River between Subiaco and Tivoli, extending not very far up the river into the mountains but spreading fanwise over the more fertile areas of the Anio Valley, north to the duchy of Spoleto, west to Tivoli, and south nearly to Palestrina and the lands

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 201.

⁵ R. Morghen (ed.), *Chronicon Sublacense* (Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, XXIV, 5). Hereinafter cited as *Chronicon*, with pagination of this edition.

⁶ *Regesto*, n. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 10.

of the powerful families of central Italy.⁸ The *castellum* controlling these lands must have been a great stronghold for the papacy in eastern Latium, and, doubtless, to make it such the church endowed it so generously. Indeed it appears that the only great centers of power in this region east of Rome were Subiaco and Tivoli and that the former was favored by the popes, rather than Tivoli, an ancient Roman *civitas* and seat of a bishop.

The region described in the documents of the tenth century was very different from that which Benedict found some four hundred years earlier and chose for his retreat. It was then a deserted place. Nero's great villa on the Anio River had fallen into ruins, although the dams which formed the lake in the Anio and gave the name Sublacum to the region were still in place. Shepherds visited Benedict in his cave, but there is no mention of agriculture in the region. When Benedict founded his monastery there, he received neither grant nor title; he simply used unoccupied land, and his monks set to work cutting thorn bushes and clearing the ground. This work of reclamation was by no means continuous. The monastery⁹ was destroyed by the Lombards in 601, and the monks fled to Rome, where they lived in the monastery of St. Erasmus on the Caelian for over a hundred years, returning to Subiaco in 705. Also they doubtless suffered at the hands of the Saracens in the middle of the next century. But a beginning had been made; and, when in the tenth century large tracts of land and a castle commanding these lands were given to the monastery, a settlement of importance was established.

⁸ See Morghen, "Le Relazioni del Monastero Sublacense col papato; la feudalità e il commune nel 'alto Medio Evo," *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria*, LI (1930), 181.

⁹ The monastery containing Benedict's cell was probably built in the ruins of Nero's villa near the river. If there were twelve monasteries, as Benedict's biographer, Pope Gregory the Great, writing in 592-93, states there were, the others were probably farther up in the hills near the cave where Benedict lived as a hermit (see Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXVI, 125).

The monastery owned the castle but apparently was unable to control it. Around 1050 Pope Leo IX intervened in the monastery's behalf. Calling some men of the castle before him, he demanded the documents upon which they based their claims and, finding a large part of them false, had the documents burned in his presence and ordered that all property taken from the monastery be restored to it.¹⁰ His efforts were evidently not entirely effective, for when John VII became abbot a few years later he found the men of the castle ruling the monastery.¹¹

The most splendid period in the history of the monastery was Abbot John's long administration (1065-1117). He was the first to bring the castle actually under the control of the monastery. John was a nobleman, a monk of Farfa, who assumed office at the urgent request, and in the presence, of Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII, who had been sent by Alexander II on a visitation to the monastery. The tradition is that when Hildebrand became pope he made Abbot John a cardinal. The influence of this great abbot seems to have touched every phase of the life of the monastery. He reformed the monastery, introduced religious customs which are still observed there, encouraged the copying and illumination of manuscripts, had carved wooden chests made for the books, gave silver vessels for the services of the church, and was a prodigious builder.

But his greatest task was the reconquest of the patrimony of the monastery. In this work he was aided by Gregory VII and Paschal II. On at least one occasion Paschal II led his army to the monastery and, joining forces with the abbot, conquered the neighboring strongholds of Ponza and Afife. To regain control of his own citadel, Abbot John entered Subiaco with his army, mastered it, and began the construction of fortifications.¹² He built a tower firm and high, a spacious palace, and other buildings, surrounding these with

¹⁰ *Chronicon*, p. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

great walls. He transformed the *castellum* into the *rocca*, as it was called from this time. After the building was finished, the abbot left the monastery and went to live in the citadel, and we hear no more of the difficulty with the men of Subiaco. His palace had a splendid location rising from the highest point in the region on a great natural acropolis. Here the abbot lived with his retinue like the great feudal lord that he was. From his lofty halls or from the vine-covered pergola in his garden he could look out upon his possessions: across fertile fields, orchards, and vineyards in the valley of the Anio, or up the river to the great bare mountains where his monastery hid.

Thus a strong abbot controlled his lands, but the problem of subduing rebellious vassals and defending the patrimony from rival feudal powers was a continuous one. The valuable lands of the monastery were coveted by the feudal lords and were frequently the cause of disputes among them. And the affairs of the monastery continued to be closely associated with those of the neighboring lords; some held fiefs of the monastery, some were monks. Many of the disturbances at the monastery might have been avoided if an earlier pope had ruled as Eugene IV did in 1439 that no one born within thirty miles of the monastery and no one of Roman baronial family could hold an office in the monastery.¹³

In addition to the persistent problem of relations with vassals and rival barons, the abbot soon had to deal with the discontent of the peasants and artisans on his own manor. How long this trouble was brewing or how many revolts of the people of the castle of Subiaco may have been suppressed, we cannot say. But by 1193 these people were sufficiently

¹³ F. 2710. Except for the 216 documents in the eleventh-century register referred to above and a few documents here and there, the documents of the monastery are not published. A catalogue of the documents in the archives of the monastery of St. Scholastica in Subiaco today is included in Egidi, Giovannoni, Hermanin, Federici, *I Monasteri di Subiaco* (2 vols.; Rome, 1904). Reference to these documents is made by the letter *F* and the number the document bears in Federici's catalogue.

conscious of their power to make an agreement with the abbot which virtually recognized their independence.¹⁴ This concession was the first step toward self-government. As such it was practically the charter of the town of Subiaco.

This significant contract was made "with the common consent of all the people of Subiaco" and negotiated for them by their *comestabilis* and *vice-comes* and other "good men" of the castle, "receiving a mandate from the people to make this agreement in behalf of all the people and themselves." The party of the first part was Lord Romanus, "humble abbot of the monastery," and his brothers in the monastery. The entire congregation is not named, but, of the nineteen monks listed, eight were of noble family, designated *dompni*, and several were from neighboring castles. The people were represented by John, son of Girard, *comestabilis* of the castle, and Malevestitus, *vice-comes*, both probably appointed by the abbot, and twenty-three other "good men" of the castle, whose names are given. There were no noblemen among them, and, although we may be reasonably certain that there were artisans in the list, their names give no indication of their occupation.

They agreed that all the inhabitants of the castle, except the clergy and the knights, should pay an assize of forty pounds a year to the monastery, the assize to be assessed and collected by four men appointed by the abbot. The levy was to be paid in the coin current at the time of payment. The abbot promised to exact nothing beyond this and to lighten the amount in case of great damage to property by fire or public enemy. The people in turn agreed to give additional help to the abbot if his possessions were damaged, provided their holdings were not damaged, and if he purchased new lands or castles.¹⁵ The assize was to be paid annually between

¹⁴ F. 232 and Morghen, "Tre antiche carte statuarie della regione romana," *Fonti per la storia d'Italia, statuti della Provincia Romana*, II, 13.

¹⁵ There is an instance of this in the thirteenth century when the abbot of Subiaco bought some property in Cerreto, a neighboring castle, and levied a subsidy on the

the feast of the Assumption, August 15, and the feast of St. Michael, September 29. Military service remained unchanged; there was the usual prestation of work, and criminal jurisdiction continued to be in the hands of the monastery. The abbot conceded the point that, if a vassal built a house on his land and later lost his fief, he could claim the material in the building.

Thus matters were arranged between the monastery and the town at the end of the twelfth century, but new difficulties constantly arose. A situation which the abbot was unable to control soon required the intervention of Cardinal Hugolino, later Pope Gregory IX. On this occasion the *pedites*, as distinguished from the *milites* or knights, who were not a party to the agreement of 1193, had taken an oath against the monastery.¹⁶ They were excommunicated, and order was restored for a time. The fourteenth century, the period of the Avignonese residence of the papacy, was, at Subiaco, a time of great disorder which probably proved advantageous to the townsmen. Two abbots were forced to flee, Angelo went to Avignon,¹⁷ and Ademar, though he suppressed a rebellion of his vassals, left Rocca di Subiaco to live in Rocca di Jenne, a fortification some fifteen miles farther up the river.¹⁸ Later the pope called on the Roman senate and people to help the abbot of Subiaco against rebellious monks and vassals.¹⁹ At the end of this turbulent century the townsmen of Subiaco were evidently striving for new liberties because men of fourteen different places among the lands and castles of the monastery declared their loyalty to the monastery and protested against the demands of the *universitas* and men of Subiaco.²⁰

The struggle over statutes for the town of Subiaco did not

people of Subiaco to pay for it. They refused but were compelled by the pope to submit (F. 383).

¹⁶ *Chronicon*, p. 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁹ F. 1554.

²⁰ F. 2193.

end until the institution of the system of commendatory abbots in the fifteenth century brought the monastery under the very close control of the papacy. The first communal statutes of which we have record were drawn up at the end of the thirteenth century. Boniface VIII refused to ratify them and suspended Abbot Francis for allowing them.²¹ They were later ratified by Sciarra Colonna, cardinal legate, perhaps because the great enemy of his family had not permitted them, if for no better reason.²² In 1445 Eugene IV abolished the statutes of Subiaco,²³ and John Torquemada, the first of the cardinal abbots, drew new ones whose observance was ordered by Calixtus III (1456).²⁴ The castle had been allowed to fall into ruin at this time, and Cardinal Torquemada did not live there; but, when Cardinal Roderigo Borgia became abbot, he spent nine thousand ducats rebuilding the castle and adding the great *torre borgiano*, most prominent feature of the castle today.²⁵

We have no description of the early organization of the town of Subiaco, but something of its character may be inferred from two documents of the fourteenth century. In the first, to settle a dispute between the *universitas* and people of Subiaco and the monastery of St. Cleridona over a pasture, representatives were chosen by the council, upper council, and *universitas* of Subiaco.²⁶ The representatives met at the command of the abbot in the Church of St. John, having been summoned by the town crier and by the ringing of the church bells. The second document gives the composition of the upper council when it met in 1346 to consider a request to relieve the siege of Rocca di Cerro.²⁷ The upper council was called together by a notary and met in the Church of St. Catherine. It consisted of ten men, one of whom, Lord Paul of Cervara, was a nobleman from a near-by castle.

²¹ *Chronicon*, p. 43.

²⁴ F. 2842.

²² *Ibid.*

²⁵ Arch. Vat. Armar., XXXVI, 6, 624.

²³ Arch. Vat. Reg. Lat. 372, p. 84.

²⁶ F. 967.

²⁷ F. 1264.

The new town grew outside the walls of the castle in a region called Campus. There are numerous references to the location of this region which enable us to conclude that it was at the foot of the hill on which the abbot's castle stood and along the river in the direction of the monastery—that is, near the church of St. Andrea and in the place called Campo today.²⁸ In this region, Campus or Burgus, there were two districts, Contrado Campi and Contrada Vie Vecchie. The town hall was built here at least as early as 1313, for a document of that year was drawn “in Subiaco, in Campo, in the town hall.”²⁹ And in this century numerous gifts were made, chiefly in wills, *pro opere domus communis*.³⁰ Here also were a public square,³¹ a granary of the monastery,³² a chapel of St. Nicholas,³³ and a house belonging to the monastery, where business was often transacted and near which market was held *in campo ubi redditur forum iuxta domum specus*.³⁴

Subiaco seems to be the first town in this region; there is no evidence of communal organization near Subiaco earlier than the action of her townsmen in 1193. In the thirteenth century references to the *populus* of Civitella,³⁵ the *balivi* of Porziano³⁶ and a meeting of the *populus* of Ponza to elect an agent³⁷ may indicate such organization. We can see the beginning of a commune in Roiate and Rocca Secca in 1270, when the inhabitants made an agreement with Abbot Henry of Subiaco whereby he renounced the *datio*, paid every three

²⁸ “In parrochia Sancti Andreae ubi dicitur Campus” (F. 905); “In burgo Sublaci ubi dicitur Campus” (F. 2311); “Extra portam dicti castris videlicet in Contrada Campi et Vie Vecchie” (F. 2339); “In burgo Sublaci ubi dicitur Via Vecchia” (F. 2367); “In burgo Sublaci ubi dicitur Lu Campu” (F. 2543); “In burgo Campi extra Sublacum” (F. 2941); “Extra Sublacum in domo Campi sita in Burgo” (F. 2972); “Extra portam vallis in burgo Campi” (F. 2997).

²⁹ F. 813.

³⁰ F. 1878, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1937, 2040, 2111.

³¹ F. 938, *platea campi*.

³² F. 2384. Today the barracks of the local *carabinieri*.

³³ F. 2397.

³⁵ F. 281.

³⁴ F. 2543 and F. 3023.

³⁶ F. 282.

³⁷ F. 500.

years, for a smaller annual assize to be assessed and collected by officers elected by the townsmen.³⁸ There was a town hall in Toccianello in 1285³⁹ and there is reference to the *burgus* of Cervara in 1293⁴⁰ and 1315.⁴¹ There are still other references of this nature in fourteenth-century documents.

In attempting to account for the rise of the town of Subiaco, we should like to know whether the movement was due to economic revival, to an increase in commerce and industry. We have no evidence that commerce was a contributing factor; Subiaco lay on no main highway or trade route, and its trade must have been restricted to quite a small area. Nor can we say with certainty that the rise of the town was due to industry, for our references to mills and iron works are later than the communal organization. When we find these industries, however, they appear to be extensive and valuable, and they may go quite far back into the history of the monastery.

Certain mills in Subiaco may possibly have been used for the manufacture of paper at an early date. In 1301 some *valcherii* were leased for the sum of 105 pounds. These *valcherii* were vats with large wooden hammers used to clean wool preparatory to weaving, for laundering and dyeing cloth, and to make pulp for the manufacture of paper. Paper-making is the principal industry of Subiaco today, and it would be interesting to know that it was its earliest industry, or even that the town supplied the paper used at the monastery in the production of the first books printed in Italy. But neither of these points can be established; the first reference to paper mills in Subiaco appears to be the approval in 1601 by Clement VII of a lease of the mills made by Marc Antonio Colonna, commendatory abbot of Subiaco.⁴² It is more likely that the *valcherii* were used in the manufacture of cloth.

³⁸ F. 328, and Morghen, "Tre antiche carte," *loc. cit.*, p. 21.

³⁹ F. 513. ⁴⁰ F. 569. ⁴¹ F. 833. ⁴² Arch. Vat. Armar., XXXVIII, 4, 61.

Another industry of importance in Subiaco was the manufacture of iron. An iron foundry was situated near the mills just referred to. The water of the Anio no doubt supplied power to both mills. In 1360 Abbot Conrad leased these iron works to two men of Subiaco for a period of seven years at an annual payment of seven florins.⁴³ They were allowed the use of the iron works, the aqueducts, canals, and water courses, and all implements for making iron. There was a fraternity of iron workers in Subiaco as early as 1348.⁴⁴

Whether or not the degree to which commerce and industry affected the growth of Subiaco or the origins of the commune can be defined, the gradual development of the town through a long period of years can be traced. We can see the growth of a settlement at Subiaco from the time when the monks of Benedict occupied a deserted place through the time when the interests of the church made it a fortified center, an agricultural community, and a great feudal power. Finally, we can see the discontented population within the walls of the castle, the less privileged group in the medieval organization of society, revolting against their master, the abbot, and declaring themselves a self-governing body.

What happened in Subiaco must have occurred in many other places in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. A thousand years of history, from the end of the Roman Empire to the beginning of modern times, are reflected in this small, isolated community. We can follow this development not only in the documents of the monastery's archives but also in the physical lineaments of Subiaco today. We can see the end of the Roman Empire in the ruins of the imperial villa, the work of the early church in the monastery, the feudal organization of medieval society in the castle, and the new urban growth in the streets that pushed beyond the castle's narrow walls.

⁴³ F. 1449.

⁴⁴ F. 1309.

THE VAN DER MOLEN, COMMISSION MERCHANTS OF ANTWERP: TRADE WITH ITALY, 1538-44¹

*

FLORENCE EDLER

THE role played by foreign merchants in the development of Antwerp into the principal international port and the great distributing and banking center of sixteenth-century Europe has rightly been emphasized by historians. Europe has perhaps never known a more cosmopolitan city than Antwerp was during the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century.² From the famous description of this world-emporium written about 1560 by the Florentine merchant and writer, Lodovico Guicciardini,³ to the impressive work of Goris on the merchant colonies from the Mediterranean countries,⁴ numerous studies dealing with sixteenth-century Antwerp⁵ attest the importance of the foreigners of

¹ The writer gratefully acknowledges the generous fellowship granted by the C.R.B. Educational Foundation, Inc., for research in Belgian archives during 1934-36.

² Henri Pirenne, "L'Importance économique et morale d'Anvers à l'époque de Plantin," in *Fêtes données en 1920 à Anvers et à Tours à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Christophe Plantin* (Antwerp, 1921), p. 15.

³ *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1567).

⁴ J. A. Goris, *Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1925).

⁵ For the bibliography on the activities of foreign merchants in sixteenth-century Antwerp see Albert van Laar, *Bibliographie van de Geschiedenis van de Stad Antwerpen* (Brussels: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1927), Nos. 440-519. The following works, published since 1927, deserve mention: Jakob Strieder, *Aus Antwerpener Notariatsarchiven: Quellen zur deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, Berlin, and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1930); B. S. Chlepnier, *L'Etranger dans l'histoire économique de la Belgique* (offprint from

all nationalities—Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, English, French, Germans, and Easterlings (North Germans and Scandinavians)—in the city on the Scheldt which had attracted them by its policy of commercial liberty.

Little attention has been given to the activity of Flemish, Dutch, and Walloon merchants in the international traffic which was concentrated in the great port of the Netherlands. This is due partly to the fact that their role was a minor one and partly to a lack of illustrative source material.⁶

A new source of exceptional value for illustrating the role played by Netherlandish merchants in the trade between Antwerp and foreign countries has recently been brought to light by Dr. Jan Denucé, the archivist of the Municipal Archives of Antwerp.⁷ It is a letter-book containing copies of

the *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, Brussels, 11th year, No. 4 [1931]; Jan Denucé, *Inventaire des Affairadi, banquiers italiens à Anvers de l'année 1568* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1934); *idem*, *Italiaansche Koopmansgeslachten te Antwerpen in de XVI^e-XVIII^e Eeuwen* (Malines: Het Kompas, 1934); E. Coornaert, "Grand capitalisme et économie traditionnelle à Anvers au XVI^e siècle," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, VIII (1936), 127-39.

⁶ Richard Ehrenberg, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance* (trans. from the German; New York: Harcourt, Brace, n.d.), p. 234. Pirenne has described the dominant role of the native population in industry in his *Histoire de Belgique* (3d ed.; Brussels: Lamertin, 1923), III, 276 f. Van der Essen and Goris have pointed out that Netherlandish merchants took an active if minor part as international merchants, i.e., as importers of foreign goods and exporters to foreign countries. See Léon van der Essen, "Contribution à l'histoire du port d'Anvers et du commerce des Pays-Bas vers l'Espagne et le Portugal à l'époque de Charles-Quint (1553-1554)," *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, Fasc. 3 (1920), pp. 48-50; Goris, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 f., 272.

⁷ In Antwerp, as in other Belgian cities which are the seats of provincial governments, there are two main public depositories: the State Archives and the Municipal Archives. With the exception of a few volumes of notarial cartularies, the State Archives in Antwerp contain no source material for the commercial history of the sixteenth century. On the contrary, the Municipal Archives are rich in economic material; but, when Goris worked there in the early 1920's, owing to a lack of published inventories, he did not find any trace of private commercial documents such as account-books, letter-books, and business papers. Yet a large collection of them was already reposing in the archives, to remain unused until Dr. Denucé undertook the tremendous task of reorganizing and classifying the economic material in the Municipal Archives. His inventories show that, outside of Italy, Antwerp possesses the richest collection of sources for economic and business history

over 1,150 mercantile letters written, between the years 1538 and 1544, by the Antwerp firm of Pieter van der Molen and Brothers to their correspondents in England, France, Spain, and Italy.⁸ These letters not only reveal the activities of one more or less typical Netherlandish firm but also picture for us with astonishing vividness the economic and political life of Antwerp and, to some extent, of the entire Netherlands, during a period of seven years—years of great contrast: fat years and lean years; years in which the pulse of business activities beat feverishly fast and others in which it was deathly slow; years in which all the looms of Dutch and Flemish villages hummed busily but could not produce enough tapestries, linens, and woolen cloths to fill all the orders, and others in which the looms were idle, the clothiers “went to the hospital,”⁹ mercers and other shopkeepers “de-

to be found in Europe. The nucleus of this collection is the thousands of volumes of private business records dating from the early sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, which were transferred from the Old Court of Bankruptcy to the Municipal Archives. From 1518 on—the date of the creation of the Antwerp Court of Bankruptcy (Insolvente Boedelskamer)—in cases of bankruptcy all papers, private as well as commercial, belonging to a bankrupt person or firm were taken to the city hall. The papers of foreign, as well as of native, firms were seized. The fire in the city hall in 1576 destroyed most of the early documents, but a few sets of books in the Bankruptcy Collection survived the fire. Other sets of business papers which were found in the archives when Dr. Denucé prepared his inventory have been grouped with the Insolvente Boedelskamer material, so that this collection is not limited to papers of bankrupt firms. Altogether there are business records of over one hundred firms from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. For the complete inventory see J. Denucé, “De Insolvente Boedelskamer en het Antwerpsch Economisch Archief,” *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, Vols. II–VII (1927–32). See also his “Archives commerciales privées: le fonds des faillites à Anvers,” *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, IV (1932), 372–77.

⁸ Insolvente Boedelskamer, No. 2030: Pieter van der Molen, Brievenkopij, 1538–44 (MS). Municipal Archives, Antwerp (hereinafter cited as Brievenkopij). This MS is an example of one which did not originally belong to the deposit of the Bankruptcy Court. The large copy-book, containing 296 folios, bound in parchment was purchased in 1910 for the Municipal Archives from a dealer in old paper.

⁹ “Li draperi che le [panni] fano, li perdono de capitale duc. 1 per pezza. Molti de loro andarano al ospedale restando questa chativa stagione di facende” (Brievenkopij, fol. 114^r [October 11, 1539]).

parted without saying 'Good-by' "¹⁰ and business in general "was dead" (to quote the picturesque phrases used in the letters);¹¹ months or years during which peace reigned throughout Europe—when even the Turk appeared to be more interested in trade than in warfare—and months in which the Low Countries suffered the ravages of invading armies, while Antwerp's merchants abandoned their countinghouses to stand guard on the walls and spent sleepless nights worrying not over bad accounts but over the possibility that the French and Guelders troops encamped outside the walls might capture the city before succor arrived.¹²

In addition to the accounts of political, military, and economic events which affected trade favorably or otherwise, the letters contain other information characteristic of merchant letters in the centuries before the appearance of newspapers. The writers listed current prices and exchange rates; they noted the arrival of large shipments of spices, grains, etc.; and they reported on the activity at the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom.¹³ Beginning with August 22, 1540, printed price lists were sometimes inclosed in the letters in place of the earlier written ones.¹⁴

With the exception of a few letters written in French or Flemish to Frenchmen, Flemings, and Englishmen, the van der Molen letters are written in Italian and are addressed to native correspondents in Genoa, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara,

¹⁰ "Questa fiera fredda è statto cativissima per merzeri et ogni settimana ne va via qualchuno senza dir a dio.... In un giorno sono stato qui 4 falimenti di botegari" (*ibid.*, fol. 139^r [February 29, 1540]).

¹¹ "Tutte le facende restano morte" (*ibid.*, fol. 253^v [January 20, 1543]).

¹² The troops of Martin van Rossem raided the country surrounding Antwerp and threatened to attack the city, July 25-28, 1542, but the vigilance of the defense prevented any surprise assault upon the walls of Antwerp. On the twenty-eighth the enemy troops withdrew (*ibid.*, fols. 239^v-41^v; F. H. Mertens and K. L. Torfs, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen* [Antwerp, 1848], IV, 72-80).

¹³ For the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom see below, pp. 114-16.

¹⁴ The expression "con pretio di mercantie in stanpa" is used in some letters (Brievenkopij, fols. 171^v and 175^v).

Venice, Bologna, Ancona, Rome, Messina, and Palermo, and to Italians residing in London, Lyons, and Cadiz. Among the names of the van der Molen correspondents are found some of the most prominent Italian merchant families of the sixteenth century: the Azeretto, Spinola, and Vivaldi of Genoa; the Bragadini, Contarini, and Dolze of Venice; and the Bernardini, Bonvisi, and Cenami of Lucca. Not all of these correspondents of the Flemish firm were in their native cities. An Azeretto was in Venice, another in Messina; Spinola and Vivaldi were in London; and the Lucchese to whom letters were addressed were all in Lyons. The letters to Lyons deal exclusively with bills of exchange, which were sent there by the van der Molen at the request of creditors in Italy. Almost all the other letters deal with the phases of trade preceding the drawing-up of the bill of exchange.

The letters reveal that the van der Molen were, on the one hand, a partnership of international merchants with a branch in Venice and—for a time—another in Ancona and were, on the other hand, commission merchants who were concerned with the export and import trade on behalf of Italian firms. As an independent firm, they purchased English, Dutch, and Flemish woolen cloths and Dutch linens which they sent to their Italian branches. The cloth was then sold to dealers in Italy or it was shipped from Ancona to the Levant. The branch houses sent silks, Levantine camlets and mohair, and some spices to Antwerp.¹⁵

As representatives of numerous Italian houses, the van der Molen purchased woolen and linen cloth and tapestries which they shipped to Italy. They also sold in Antwerp and London the merchandise consigned to them by their Italian principals: tapestry silk, sewing silk, silk cloth—especially Genoese velvets, camlets and mohair, cotton, drugs, spices, and gems.

¹⁵ The letters to the branch houses were copied into a separate letter-book which is lost. By mistake, one or two written to Daniel van der Molen were copied into the extant copy-book. The activities of the van der Molen as independent merchants are occasionally referred to in the extant letters to their principals.

The van der Molen were in a favorable position to purchase cloths and tapestries at the lowest possible prices for themselves and for their Italian principals. Agents or salaried factors purchased Hondtschoote says and certain English cloths in the places of production. Pieter van der Molen made frequent trips to Holland to purchase on the spot woolen cloths of Haarlem and Leyden. Other cloths were purchased at the fairs—some English and French woolens and some Dutch linens, the latter directly from the nuns who brought the linens woven in their convents to the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom.

Most of the tapestries shipped to Italy had to be made to order, according to specifications of size, design, etc., sent by the principals. The Flemish firm dealt directly with tapestry masters in Brussels, Antwerp, and neighboring villages. Orders for Bruges tapestries were handled through a factor in Bruges.

The letters reveal something about the early history of the van der Molen partnership, and a careful examination of the notarial records, the Schepenbrieven (official acts registered in the presence of the aldermen)¹⁶ and the Certificatieboeken (certificates issued by authority of the aldermen),¹⁷ of Antwerp for the first half of the sixteenth century has furnished a few more details, so that the history of the firm can be faintly sketched. But many details that we should like to

¹⁶ The Schepenbrieven contain the records of all rentals and sales of real estate in Antwerp, of marriage contracts, appointments of guardians for widows and minors, and a few wills. The latter were usually drawn up by notaries, in which case they were not registered by the *schepenen* or aldermen. The sixteenth-century notarial cartularies—there are only twelve volumes of acts enregistered by four different notaries extant for the first half of the century—contain the same type of business documents as do those of earlier centuries elsewhere in Europe: some contracts for credit sales, for overland transportation, for maritime insurance, numerous charter-parties, procurations, etc.

¹⁷ The Certificatieboeken contain miscellaneous statements pertaining to a wide range of commercial matters, such as litigations, confiscations of goods by acts of war, letters of safe conduct, etc.

fill in are lacking. Unfortunately, no account-books or any other letter-books of the van der Molen are extant.

Frederick van der Molen, the father of the four brothers whose letter-book we are studying, was born in Haarlem, probably near the beginning of the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁸ He presumably came to Antwerp early in the 1500's to make his fortune, as so many young men from all parts of the Western world were doing. The earliest steps of his career have not been revealed by any documents. The first mention of Frederick van der Molen which has been found pictures him already in the role of an exporter of merchandise toward Italy. According to a record in a *Certificatieboek*, dated May 3, 1509, Frederick van der Molen, "citizen of Haarlem in Holland," swore that the three bales of dry goods given to Martin Sprengen, a German common carrier who transported goods to Italy, belonged to him and to Adam van Riebeke, "citizen of Bruges," and that no Venetian had any share in the ownership of the goods.¹⁹ Another act in the same *Certificatieboek*, dated February 15, 1510, stated that Frederic van der Molen, "a merchant frequenting the city of Antwerp," bought 250 ells of tapestry at the

¹⁸ In a record of 1509 he is called a citizen of Haarlem: "Frederick van der Moelen, poerter van Haerlem in Holland" (*Certificatieboeken*, 1505-9, fol. 155^v, Municipal Archives, Antwerp). In a contract for the purchase of a house in Antwerp he is described as "Fredericke Jacopsen alias van der Moelen, coopman, geboren van Haerlem" (*Schepenbrieven*, 1525, K.B., fol. 223^r, Municipal Archives). Frederick never became a citizen of Antwerp. The *Poortersboeken der Stad Antwerpen* for the period 1463-1550, which are in the *Archives Générales du Royaume in Brussels* (*Chambre des Comptes*, Nos. 4962-84), contain the names of all persons who became citizens of Antwerp during those years, and Frederick van der Molen is not among them. His sons were citizens because they were born and brought up in Antwerp.

¹⁹ "Frederick van der Moelen, poerter van Haerlem in Holland, juravit van drie balen droochs goets genomert 2, 3 et 4 ende gemerct met desen marcke, daer af een geheeten Marten Sprengen conducteur is, dat goet hem ende Adam van Rybeke, poerter van Brugge, toebehoert, ende nyemande anders, ende dat gheen Venecianen daer ane paert noch deelen hebben, sonder argelist" (*Certificatieboeken*, 1505-9, fol. 155^v). This is the time of the war waged against Venice by the League of Cambray.

last fair in Bergen-op-Zoom from Henricks van Inecke, tapestry master of Sinte Gheertruyden (north of Bergen-op-Zoom), and that the tapestry belonged to the said Frederick and to no one else.²⁰ The third mention of Frederick is in a Schepenbrief of August 22, 1510, according to which he rented for a period of nine years a large house with a court, storerooms, and cellars (*packhuysen ende kelders*) on the Burchtplein (Burg Square), which was in front of the wharf on the Scheldt River.²¹ These three acts show that by 1510 Frederick van der Molen was actively engaged in international trade and needed storage space for goods in a favorable location near the river.

Several deeds for the years 1516, 1519, and 1521 deal with the sale and purchase of houses in the Preekheerstraat (Dominican Street). In 1516 Frederick sold a house located there; in 1519 he bought another house in the same street which he sold in 1521.²² These were cash transactions and show the possession of a certain amount of capital.

The first house, sold in 1516, may have been part of the dowry of his wife, Alijt Ballincx, a native of Antwerp, because no record of the purchase of that house by Frederick has been found. How large a dowry his wife brought him

²⁰ "Frederic vander Moelen, coopman alhier in der stadt frequenterende, juravit van alsulcken twee hondert ende vijftich ellen tapicherie oft daer omtrent als hy nu in de leste merct van Berghen opten Zoom gecocht heeft jegens Henricks van Inecke, tapichier van Sinte Gheertruyden ende cortelings aldaer gepact selen worden in een pac gemerct metten mercke, in de margie van desen geteyckent, omme die alhier in der stad gebracht te wordene quod pertinent sibi et nemo altri" (*ibid.*, fol. 70^v. [The folios are not all in chronological order]).

²¹ Schepenbrieven, 1510, V.K., fols. 79^v-80^r. The annual rental was £42 s.10 of Brabant money, payable in two instalments, June 29 and December 29. The wharf was the main quay where seagoing vessels loaded and unloaded. On it stood a large crane. Merchants sometimes used the expression, "at [or "to"] the Crane," as synonymous with "at [or "to"] Antwerp" in letters, bills of lading, etc. (Brievenkopij, fols. 85^r and 181^r; Goris, *op. cit.*, p. 170; Jarvis Wegg, *Antwerp, 1477-1559* [London, 1916], p. 323).

²² Schepenbrieven, 1516, G.C., fol. 99^{r-v}; 1519, V.K., fol. 260^r; 1521, V.K., fol. 115^v.

is unknown.²³ Frederick and Alijt had five children, all born in Antwerp and probably all before 1520. There was a daughter, Gheertruydt, and four sons—Pieter, the eldest, Ghijsbrecht, Cornelis, and Daniel.²⁴

In 1525 Frederick purchased a large house in Lombard Street, not far from the cathedral, in which the family lived for years. It was sold in 1549 by Frederick's heirs.²⁵ The business office of the van der Molen Brothers at the time the letters were written, 1538-44, was probably in this Lombard Street house.

At an unknown date in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Frederick van der Molen formed a partnership with a certain Bernardo di Zanchi of Venice. It may be that Zanchi, like so many Italians, came to Antwerp for business—either as a factor for some Italian house, or independently—and before his return to Venice formed a partnership with van der Molen for the sale of northern cloth and tapestry in Venice and of Italian and Levantine goods in Antwerp. It is also possible that the partnership was formed not in Antwerp but in Venice through the presence of Frederick in the Adriatic city. We have no evidence that Frederick van der Molen was ever in Venice (or that Bernardo di Zanchi was in Antwerp), but some young Netherlanders did go to Venice for training in business technique—especially double-entry book-keeping—in the last decades of the fifteenth century and the

²³ The date of the marriage is unknown. The only mention of the wife of Frederick van der Molen by name is in a deed of 1549 for the sale at auction by the van der Molen brothers of a house which had belonged to their mother, Alijt Ballincx, who died April 15, 1548 (Schepenbrieven, 1549, R.H., Vol. II, fol. 32^r).

²⁴ The dates of the births of the children have not been found, but as Daniel, the youngest, was sufficiently mature to be placed in charge of the Venetian branch in 1540, he was probably born before 1520.

²⁵ The description of the house in the purchase act is very brief (Schepenbrieven, 1525, K.B., fol. 223^r), but in the deed of sale it is described as a house with numerous rooms, kitchen, countinghouse, storerooms, cellars, balcony, garden, etc. (*ibid.*, 1549, R.H., Vol. I, fol. 128^{r-v}). The mention of a countinghouse (*comptoir*) and of storerooms (*packhuysen*) suggests that this house in Lombard Street was the place of business, from 1525 on, of Frederick and his sons.

early part of the sixteenth century, just as many young South Germans from Augsburg and elsewhere were sent to the Adriatic port.²⁶

In the earliest document relating to him—that of 1509—Frederick van der Molen certified that three bales of goods being transported to Italy by the carrier, Sprengen, belonged to him and to Adam van Riebeke of Bruges and that no Venetians owned any of the goods in question. The reference to Venetians suggests that van der Molen was already associated with Bernardo di Zanchi at that date. The declaration of ownership need not be accepted as the literal truth. Adam van Riebeke was at one time a factor of the van der Molen in Italy and later in Bruges. He may have been in Italy in 1509, and his name may have been used as a screen to conceal the relationship between van der Molen and Zanchi during the period of the war between the members of the League of Cambray and Venice.

The first authentic evidence for the van der Molen-Zanchi partnership is a notarial act of April 30, 1526, according to the terms of which Frederick, in the name of the partnership, undertook the shipment of 156 English woollfells belonging to Nicholas Jones, an English merchant, to Venice, where Zanchi was to deliver them to Richard Farmer, an English merchant residing in Venice, or, in his absence, to Jacob Ram.

²⁶ One of the Augsburgers left an interesting account of his mercantile apprenticeship in Venice during the years 1494-98 (see Lucas Rem, *Tagebuch* [Augsburg, 1861]). The best-known example of a Netherlander's studying in Venice is Jan Ympyn, the translator of Paciolo's treatise on double-entry bookkeeping into Flemish and into French. Ympyn spent twelve years in Venice, probably first as an apprentice in an Italian house and later as a bookkeeper or factor for an Italian or a Flemish firm. After traveling in Spain and Portugal, Ympyn settled in Antwerp, where he, like the van der Molen, bought English cloth and Flemish tapestries for export to Italy, whence he received silks. In order to open a retail shop for the sale of silk goods, he joined the mercers' guild, first having to become a citizen of Antwerp, for, like Frederick van der Molen, he was not a native of the city (see Raymond de Roover, *Jan Ympyn: essai historique et technique sur le premier traité flamand de comptabilité* [1543] [Antwerp: Veritas, 1928] and his "Een en ander over Jan Ympyn Christoffels, den schrijver van de eerste nederlandsche handleiding over het koopmansboekhouden," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, LII [1937], 163-79).

Van der Molen was to pay the tolls and freight charges, and Jones was to pay him a through rate of twenty-two Flemish shillings per one hundred pounds of fells, on the safe delivery of the goods.²⁷ Frederick van der Molen was acting as forwarding agent, a role which his sons and successors occasionally played, for example, in 1542 and 1544, when they re-shipped bales of cloth en route from London to merchants in Venice and Ancona.²⁸

Another notarial act, dated August 21, 1532, reveals that Pieter Waarloos, a cousin of van der Molen, invested £1,000 Flemish as a silent partner in the van der Molen-Zanchi partnership, which had been renewed on March 1, 1532. Waarloos' capital was to remain in the partnership until its expiration, March 1, 1536. In case of a renewal for four more years, his share would remain invested, unless he asked to withdraw it. The silent partner was to receive a share of the profits in proportion to his capital, but he was to return to Frederick, the active partner in Antwerp, 7s. per pound Flemish of profit. In case of liquidation the silent partner would receive his proportionate share of the cash, merchandise, and accounts receivable. It was agreed, however, that Frederick van der Molen would be entitled to receive 7s. out of each pound Flemish allotted to Pieter Waarloos, in excess of the latter's original capital of £1,000. The books were to be closed and profits (or losses) ascertained every two years.²⁹

The partnership was apparently renewed in March, 1536, because when the extant letters begin in March, 1538, the

²⁷ Minutes du notaire Jacques de Platea, Vol. I, fol. 167^{r-v}, State Archives, Antwerp.

²⁸ Brievenkopij, fols. 234^r, 235^r, 283^r, 287^v, 290^r, 295^{r-v}.

²⁹ Minutes de Platea, Vol. II, fol. 185^{r-v}. For similar provisions in other Antwerp partnerships and in Italian ones, see M. P. Génard, *Un Acte de société commerciale au XVI^e siècle* (reprint from *Bulletins de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Anvers* [1883], pp. 11 ff.; Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin: imprimeur anversois* (Antwerp, 1896), pp. 385 ff.; F. Edler, *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business: Italian Series, 1200-1600* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1934), Appen. I, "Medici Partnerships," pp. 336 and 343.

partnership still had two years to run, i.e., until the beginning of March, 1540. Waarloos was still a silent partner with a capital of £800 instead of £1,000.³⁰ There was evidently no provision for the termination of the partnership in case of the death of one or both partners³¹ because both Frederick van der Molen and Bernardo di Zanchi died during the winter of 1537-38, and the partnership was carried on by their heirs—the four sons of Frederick and the heirs of Bernardo, of whom only one, Giovanni Battista di Zanchi, is ever mentioned by name. The letters from March, 1538, until March 1, 1540, are signed “Heirs of Frederick van der Molen and Heirs of Bernardo di Zanchi.”

Frederick van der Molen in Antwerp and his Italian partner in Venice bought and sold goods on their own account and also as agents for Italian firms, as did their heirs and successors. In the last years before the death of the two partners, a branch house was opened in Ancona with Cornelis, the second or third son of Frederick van der Molen, in charge. This branch was closed at the beginning of 1538 because the war between Venice and the Turks had practically killed the commerce of Ancona, which was chiefly with the Levant—the shipping of English and Flemish cloths to the Levant and the shipping of Levantine products, especially camlets and silk, to Antwerp.³²

Daniel, the youngest son of Frederick van der Molen, was in Venice with the Zanchi at the time of his father's death. He remained in that city during most of his life.³³

When the partnership with the Zanchi heirs was approaching an end, the van der Molen brothers decided not to renew

³⁰ Brievenkopij, fol. 72^v (April 18, 1539).

³¹ Such a provision was usually found in Italian articles of association (see Edler, *op. cit.*, pp. 336 and 339).

³² Brievenkopij, fols. 49^r and 51^v.

³³ In 1540 Daniel married Katlyne de Hane, the daughter of an Antwerp merchant who resided in Venice and who did business there under the name of “Martin de Hane and Sons” (*ibid.*, fols. 183^v and 273^r).

it. They explained in a letter to one of their most esteemed clients, Bastiano del Baillo of Ferrara, that the Zanchi had grandiose ideas and wished to make a display of wealth which displeased the more conservative Antwerp merchants, who wished to maintain their reputation for giving good service and not to acquire a reputation for pomp and richness.³⁴ The Zanchi offered no objections, and the partnership was dissolved March 1, 1540. It took, however, several years to wind up the affairs of the partnership. The Zanchi were to receive only one-fifth and the van der Molen four-fifths of all the stock and the accounts receivable.³⁵ The van der Molen in Antwerp wound up their accounts quickly, but the Zanchi were slow about straightening out the Venetian accounts, even though Daniel van der Molen was in Venice. In September, 1541, the van der Molen urged Giovanni Battista Zanchi to settle the division of outstanding accounts, good and bad—a matter which the brothers in Antwerp believed

³⁴ "Honorando messer Bastiano carissimo. Hogi vi scrivemo per l'ordinaria et chome intenderette da Daniele nostro fratello a Venezia al primo marzo proximo finisse la compagnia nostra con li Zanchi et per ocune [*sic*] occasione ne sono stato conigliato da nostri amici de non fare più compagnia con loro, coxi habiamo determinato con nostra matre et messer Adam nostro et 3 noi 4 fratelli de non fare compagnia con nisuno. Li Zanchi sono molto magnanemi avendo apiacere a monstrar la lor richeza, et noi siamo di contraria opinione. Et per non essersi heredi del nostro padre che noi 4 fratelli et una sorella, et el nostro messer Adamo sono ancor de nostra opinione, quale non desidera aver nome de fama in Anverssa stando lui a Brugia, et più per esser di qui molto in odio alla corte et più al comun populo li nomi di queste compagnie grande, dicendo: 'Questi grandi bancheri mangiano li piccoli e poveri,' coxi noi per non aver tal fama—et coxi con effetto non vogliamo far usura con nisuno—habiamo determinato che qui solo si dirà Piero de Molin e fratelli et a Venezia, Daniel de Molin, a fine d'acquistar fama de ben fare et non de gran pompa ne richeza.... Il tutto vostro di bon core. Piero de Molin e fratelli" (*ibid.*, fol. 127^v [December 7, 1539]). All the clients were notified at the beginning of December of the approaching dissolution.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 145^v. It is not known whether Zanchi's original share of the capital was only one-fifth. He might have contributed a larger share at the beginning and have withdrawn some later, or Frederick van der Molen might have increased his share at renewals of the partnership until he had four times as much capital in the partnership as Bernardo Zanchi, or the Zanchi heirs might have withdrawn some capital at the time of their father's death.

he could straighten out in a few hours with Daniel's assistance.³⁶

In place of the van der Molen-Zanchi partnership, the four van der Molen brothers formed a family partnership for four years' duration, March 1, 1540—March 1, 1544. The new firm name was "Pieter van der Molen and Brothers." Daniel remained in Venice; the other three brothers were stationed in Antwerp, but Pieter made frequent business trips to Holland. No mention of Pieter Waarloos as a silent partner is made.

In March, 1544, the partnership among the brothers was reorganized. The name was changed from "Pieter van der Molen and Brothers" to "Pieter and Ghijsbrecht van der Molen" in Antwerp and "Daniel van der Molen" in Venice.³⁷ Cornelis disappeared from the scene, whether to enter some other business or to live on his rents is not clear.³⁸

At the time of the formation of the first partnership among the four brothers in 1540, the family was already sufficiently wealthy so that the members could live on the rents from their freehold estates (*terrains francs*). Their liquid capital was invested in the traffic between Antwerp and Italy, but only in merchandise. They were not interested in banking

³⁶ Letter to Giovanbattista Zanchi, September 18, 1541: "Speramo per le prime vostre aver el saldo et fine del vostro chonto et harete saldato tutti li debitori cativi et longi in una partita per poter saldar a cadaun la sua rata. Et non essendo [fatto] vi pregamo se n'arete voglia chome ditti che non manchate di farlo, chè hormai saria tenpo. Et ne vien in fastidio replicarvi tante volte una cossa—chè in un hora potete inscontrar el tutto con Daniel nostro—sì che non ne diremo altro per hora, per esser ditto et replicato assai. Attendiamo solvere li effetti" (*ibid.*, fol. 215^r). Evidently this letter was one of many similar ones sent to Zanchi, without having any effect on him. It is the only one copied into the extant letter-book.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 287^r.

³⁸ In the 1540's Cornelis was seldom in Antwerp. According to the Schepenbrieven, Ghijsbrecht acted as his procurator. In 1568 Cornelis was living in 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) in Holland (see Schepenbrieven, 1568, G.A., Vol. I, fols. 108^r, 257^r, 258^r).

operations and refused several offers to enter upon financial ventures.³⁹

Frederick van der Molen was a "self-made" business man who probably took some big risks. His sons in Antwerp apparently lacked his initiative and preferred to be very cautious. They were probably more interested in holding on to their inherited wealth than in trying to make large profits through the expansion of their business. Some of their Italian clients proposed, from time to time, that the van der Molen should enter into temporary partnership with them for the sale of the goods that they were handling as commission merchants. For example, Geronimo Azeretto of Genoa repeatedly offered to give them a share in the velvets he was shipping them.⁴⁰ They always refused such offers, preferring their 2 or 3 per cent of commission to the uncertainty of a share in the profits (or losses) of the goods they were handling. It is true that the years 1538-44 were difficult for international trade on account of frequent warfare, and the van der Molen may have been wise to avoid any new business ventures at that time.

How long after the period of the extant letters the brothers carried on their partnership is not known. A series of registers for a 1 per cent ad valorem tax collected on all merchandise shipped out of the Netherlands during 1543-45 shows that in the year following the letters the van der Molen were still shipping considerable quantities of merchandise to

³⁹ To Geronimo Azeretto of Genoa, one of their chief clients, they wrote on April 4, 1540: "Et a fine possiate securamente dormire quando le robe vostre sono in man nostre, vi dicemo, per la gratia de Dio, aver tanta intrada de' nostri tereni franchi che ne fano le spexe del vivere, et abiamo la caxa, bene acomodata, alzi franca [the house in Lombard Street]. El capitale mobile che trafigamo sono solun de qui a Venezia e ancora in merze. Et de kambi non se ne vogliamo inpazare, ne per noi ne per altri, chè così ne hano lasato per ricordo el nostro padre. Et quando abiamo in cassa per £ mille comprar per £800. Non desideramo d'aver fama de gran facende, salvo di ben fare e viver honestamente" (Brievenkopij, fols. 148^v-49^r).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 6^r, 49^r, 141^v, 156^r, 181^r.

numerous Italian cities.⁴² Pieter died between 1549 and 1552,⁴³ and Ghijsbrecht died in 1561.⁴⁴ Daniel was still in Venice in 1554;⁴⁵ he died before his brother, Ghijsbrecht.⁴⁶

The dual function of the van der Molen (and the Zanchi) as, on the one hand, international merchants buying and selling goods for their own profit and, on the other, as fee-taking agents carrying out orders received from their principals has been pointed out. Since practically all the extant letters deal with the commission business, it is only the firm's activities as agents that can be studied in any detail.

The setup of the firm of commission merchants, after the dissolution of the partnership with the Zanchi in March, 1540, was apparently as follows: There were three brothers in charge of the headquarters in Antwerp. (Daniel in Venice had little to do with the commission business of the firm, except to deliver letters to correspondents in Venice; to forward letters to Brescia, Ferrara, Bologna, and Ancona, or from Italy to Antwerp; to receive some payments made to him for the Antwerp house, etc.) There was a salaried factor in Bruges, Adam van Riebeke, who gave out orders to tapestry masters of Bruges and bought certain Flemish cloths for which Bruges was the mart rather than Antwerp.⁴⁶ These

⁴² The extant registers of the 1 per cent tax date from February 10, 1543, to September 24, 1545 (Chambre des Comptes, Nos. 23357-64, Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels).

⁴³ In November, 1552, the guardians of Pieter's children sold a house in the Kammerstraat (Schepenbrieven, 1552, R.H., fol. 416^r). Pieter was alive in 1549. He is not mentioned in any acts between 1549 and 1552.

⁴⁴ Ghijsbrecht died a bachelor. His will, according to which he left landed estates outside of Antwerp and income from the Duchy of Brabant to his nephews and nieces, is found in Schepenbrieven (November 6), 1561, G.A., Vol. II, fol. 157^{r-v}.

⁴⁵ A procuration made by Daniel in Venice in 1548 is referred to as still valid in 1554 (Certificatieboeken, 1554 [October 9], fol. 329^v).

⁴⁶ In the will of Ghijsbrecht, he is mentioned as deceased.

⁴⁶ Adam van Riebeke had served in Italy in the early days of the van der Molen-Zanchi partnership (Brievenkopij, fols. 17^v and 31^r). At the time of the letters he

were sent to headquarters for repacking and then shipped to the principals who had ordered them. Another factor, Jacques or Jacob van der Tombe,⁴⁷ was stationed in Hond-schoote to purchase the says woven in the small town and the surrounding rural district, which were so popular in Italy.⁴⁸ He bought them from local clothiers or directly from rural weavers and shipped them to Antwerp.⁴⁹ He gave out orders for the dyeing of says according to sample colors sent by principals in Italy.⁵⁰ He also purchased says of Bergues-Saint-Winoc, a neighboring town, which was trying to develop a finer quality of say than the Hond-schoote product.⁵¹

was an independent merchant in Bruges but also a factor of the van der Molen. Factors of this type were more common in Flemish commercial houses than the Italian type of factor, who was exclusively an employee. Adam died in December, 1542. His son Jan, who had served with Daniel van der Molen in Venice, took his father's place in Bruges (*ibid.*, fol. 252^v). As an old and trusted employee, or possibly because he had a small sum invested in the partnership, Adam's advice was sought by the brothers in regard to the dissolution of the partnership with the Zanchi (see above, p. 90, n. 34). The letters mention Adam, and later, his son, as salaried factors in Bruges, but they give no evidence that they had any share in the company. On the van Riebecke as merchants, see E. Coornaert, *La Draperie-sayetterie d'Hondschoote* (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1930), p. 359.

⁴⁷ The letters to the factors, like those to the branch houses, were probably copied into another book because only two letters to the Hond-schoote factor (and none to Bruges) are found in the present MS (fols. 41^v and 110^r). Many more letters containing orders for says were written to him, according to statements made in the letters to the principals who ordered says (see below, p. 100, n. 68).

⁴⁸ For the history of the say industry of Hond-schoote, see Coornaert, *op. cit.* See also my article, "Le Commerce d'exportation des sayes d'Hondschoote vers l'Italie, d'après la correspondance d'une firme anversoise, entre 1538 et 1544," *Revue du nord*, XXII (1936), 249-66.

⁴⁹ Van der Tombe, who was a factor for several Antwerp firms, was one of sixteen buyers stationed in Hond-schoote in 1538. They bought up all the says produced in the region and for cash only. Two of them purchased about half of the total output, which, according to Coornaert (*op. cit.*, p. 493), was over 40,000 cloths per year at this period. The van der Molen purchased about 2,000 says a year (Brievenkopij, fol. 47^r; cf., also, Coornaert, *op. cit.*, p. 362).

⁵⁰ The chief purchasers of Hond-schoote says through the van der Molen were furnishers to the courts of the Este in Ferrara and the Gonzaga in Mantua (see below, p. 99).

⁵¹ From 1538 on, Bergues-Saint-Winoc tried to encourage the development of the say industry, which had existed there on a very small scale since the late fifteenth

In Holland a cousin served as an agent for Dutch linens. He knew the nuns who made the best linens in certain convents of Holland and Guelders and probably purchased their entire output, as the annual production of linen cloth was never large in any one convent.⁵² In London the van der Molen dealt with an Italian cloth agent, named Martino di Federico, during 1539-40. In October, 1541, Federico, who was a Genoese, failed in London, as did his partner, Vincenzo di Nadal, in Venice.⁵³ Thereafter the Antwerp firm sent its orders to Maurizio de' Marini, another Genoese merchant in London. Most of the orders for Winchcombe kerseys received by the Antwerp commission merchants were sent on to London because very few Winchcombe kerseys were brought to the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. Orders for other grades of kerseys were occasionally sent to London, especially when the English at the fairs were holding their kerseys at exorbitantly high prices, as they were likely to do when there was a rumor of peace being made with the Turks, or when the Germans bought large quantities to ship to Hungary.⁵⁴ English broadcloths were occasionally ordered from

century. The says of Bergues were finer and more expensive than those of Hond-schoote, Arras, or Lille (Coornaert, *L'Industrie de la laine à Bergues-Saint-Winoc* [Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1930], p. 61). Beginning in January, 1539, the van der Molen sent samples of the Bergues says to some of their Italian principals. At that time a piece of Bergues say cost 25s. in comparison with 21s., the price of a Hond-schoote say (Brievenkopij, fol. 50^v). The firm received occasional orders from Brescia, Ferrara, and Venice for a few Bergues says (*ibid.*, fols. 75^v, 128^v, 181^v, 215^r, 282^v).

⁵² Brievenkopij, fols. 170^r and 265^r. One convent on the Julich-Guelders frontier produced between sixteen and twenty cloths per year. The van der Molen usually purchased the entire linen production of this convent from the nuns who brought the cloth to Antwerp (*ibid.*, fols. 8^v, 12^v, 21^r, 151^r, 158^r, 205^v, 236^r, 291^v).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, fol. 217^v.

⁵⁴ For further information on the trade in English kerseys, see my article, "Winchcombe Kerseys in Antwerp (1538-44)," *Economic History Review*, VII (1936), 57-62.

London, usually when a sample of a special color wanted had been sent from Italy.⁵⁵

In Lille and Valenciennes the van der Molen had agents through whom they ordered worsteds (*ostadines* and *demi-ostades*) of Lille and satins of Valenciennes.⁵⁶ Cambric linen was bought from a merchant of Cambray, worsteds of Amiens from a French merchant, and woolen cloths of Armentières and Ypres from merchants of those towns—all of whom came to the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom.⁵⁷

In Arnemuiden, the Zealand port on Walcheren Island, the van der Molen had a forwarding and shipping agent, an Italian named Piero di Negrino. He received a commission for supervising the transshipment of goods which arrived on large ships from Italy to small river boats or lighters, and the unloading of the goods which had to be sent by carts or wagons to Antwerp, and the putting on board of goods sent from Antwerp to be shipped by sea. He obtained favorable freight rates and sent the bills of lading to the van der Molen, who forwarded them to the consignees in Italy.⁵⁸

How many clerks and other employees there were in the Antwerp countinghouse is unknown. Three handwritings appear in the letter-book: one is a fine Italian hand, the other a Gothic hand, which is less legible than the Italian hand—probably that of a Flemish clerk—and the third is a very hasty scrawl in which a postscript is occasionally added to a letter. It might be the hand of one of the van der Molen. All the Italian letters are written in a fairly cor-

⁵⁵ See below, p. 100. Kerseys varied in price during 1538-44 from 36*s.* to 48*s.* Winchcombe kerseys were usually 1*s.*-2*s.* higher than other kerseys. English broadcloths were the most expensive woolen cloths of the period. They ranged from £11 to £14 (Flemish). In the English customs records of the sixteenth century, three kerseys equaled one broadcloth in length and width (Edler, "Winchcombe Kerseys in Antwerp," *loc. cit.*, p. 58, n. 1.

⁵⁶ Brievenkopij, fols. 34^r and 288^r.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 10^v, 40^f, 57^v, 226^v, 283^v, 286^v.

⁵⁸ Two letters addressed to Negrino are found in the letter-book (fols. 50^r and 101^r). The others were probably copied into a book that is lost.

rect Italian with a strong Venetian flavor, that is, the peculiarities in spelling are examples of Venetian dialect—the use of *z* for *c*, etc. The style of the letters does not change. It is probable that they were all written by a Venetian clerk rather than by any of the brothers, who certainly knew Italian, but who were not always in Antwerp at the time the letters were sent. Whether the bookkeeping was partly in Flemish and partly in Italian, we do not know. The accounts sent to the principals were always in Italian. The Venetian system of beginning the year with March 1 was followed in the account books and in the dating of the letters. The books were closed every two years.⁵⁹

The principals of the van der Molen commission merchants may be divided into two groups: those for whom the firm acted only as purchasing agent and those for whom it acted as selling as well as purchasing agent. The first group was the smaller one in numbers, but in volume of business and value of merchandise it was the more important group because it placed larger orders and demanded more expensive commodities. This group of principals was located in four cities. They were chiefly furnishers to courts—papal and ducal. There were three customers in Rome: Francesco Formento, Vincenzo Cernuchio and Company, and Baltesar Olgiato and Company. In Ferrara there were two furnishers to the court of the Este: Giulio del Moro and Bastiano del Baillo, his brother-in-law. In Mantua there was Geronimo Piperaio, probably a furnisher to the Gonzaga court. In Brescia there was the partnership of Battista and Clemente di Viviani. The two latter houses, Piperario and Viviani, were secured as principals of the van der Molen through Francesco

⁵⁹ In April, 1538, the van der Molen wrote that, as usual, they were closing their books for the past two years: "Et perchè siamo per saldar li nostri libri delli 2 anni passati al solito, coxi abiam saldato tute vostre partite de conti passati fin adesso" (Brievenkopij, fol. 8^v). In February, 1544, they also mentioned closing the books (*ibid.*, fol. 282^v). This was at the time that a new partnership agreement was made (see above, p. 91). It was not customary to close the books annually in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but, instead, every second or third year.

Formento of Rome, who recommended his Antwerp agent to them.

The chief articles sent to Rome were silk and wool tapestries,⁶⁰ Dutch linens,⁶¹ and Flemish and Dutch woolen cloths. Olgiato was the best customer for tapestries. He ordered hundreds and hundreds of ells of storied tapestries, especially wall hangings. Some of the scenes pictured on these tapestries were the story of Venus, the life of Aeneas, and the triumphs of Jupiter.⁶² Formento ordered more cloth than tapestry, especially linens and Haarlem woolen cloth. He also purchased small quantities of ultrafines (*outréfins*) of Armentières, *nerelistes* of Menin, and *nerelistes* and *rogelistes* of Ypres.⁶³ Formento was the only correspondent of the van der Molen who purchased paintings through their agency. In 1538 he ordered two oil paintings of a certain size. The Antwerp house gave a commission for two landscapes to the Dutch painter, Martin van Heemskerck.⁶⁴ Cernuchio and Company received large

⁶⁰ There was little, if any, difference in price between fine silk and fine woolen tapestries. The coarser woolen tapestries with foliage or verdure of Audenarde and elsewhere cost from 20*d.* to 26*d.* per ell. The fine tapestries of silk or wool ranged from 40*d.* to 43*d.* per ell. Figured tapestries ranged from 44*d.* to 54*d.* per ell, depending on the width, the design, the perfection of the workmanship, etc. (Brievenkopij, *passim*). According to the letters, there were special master-weavers for figured or storied tapestries (see, also, Denucé, *Antwerpsche Tapijtkunst en Handel* [Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1936], p. xiv, and Document 3 [excerpts from the van der Molen letters]).

⁶¹ There were several price groups for Dutch linens. The letters mention two groups of coarse and medium ones, the first ranging from 6*d.* to 10*d.*; the second, from 8*d.* to 12*d.* per ell. The finer ones usually cost from 13*d.* to 17*d.* per ell. Some very fine ones were purchased for 30*d.* the ell (Brievenkopij, *passim*).

⁶² *Ibid.*, fols. 73^r, 117^r, 130^r, 154^v, 161^r.

⁶³ It is not known exactly what these names of woolen cloths mean. The *nerelistes* may have had black selvages and the *rogelistes*, red ones (Goris, *op. cit.*, pp. 276 and 291; Coornaert, *La Draperie-sayerterrie d'Hondschoote*, p. 225.) They were all expensive cloths. In March, 1538, the ultrafines of Armentières cost £6 5*s.* per piece, the *nerelistes* and *rogelistes* of Ypres, £6 6*s.* and £7 6*s.*, respectively, and the Menin *nerelistes*, £7 4*s.* (Flemish) (Brievenkopij, fol. 4^r).

⁶⁴ See my article, "Deux tableaux inconnus de Martin van Heemskerck," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 2d ser. VI (1936), pp. 87-90.

quantities of woolen tapestries with foliage, a few fine English cloths, a few Flemish cloths, and some Dutch linens.⁶⁵

To Ferrara and Mantua a considerable number of tapestries were sent. They were chiefly wall and door hangings with foliage and verdure but without figures. Some were Audenarde tapestries, most of which the van der Molen purchased in Antwerp,⁶⁶ others were made to order in Bruges, Antwerp, and neighboring villages. The letters frequently speak of tapestry master-weavers coming into Antwerp to receive orders or to deliver goods, but they do not usually state where they came from. Piperario also ordered a large quantity of Dutch linens, some cambrics, a few Haarlem cloths,⁶⁷ a few *ostadine* of Lille, hundreds of pieces of Hond-schoote says and some Bergues says. Moro and Baillo in Ferrara received a considerable number of Dutch linens and linens from Herenthals in Brabant, Haarlem cloths, and says of Hond-schoote. They purchased a few Leyden cloths, Cour-trai cloths, says of Bergues-Saint-Winoc, English broadcloths and friezes, *ostades* of Amiens, *ostadines* of Valenciennes, and *demi-ostades* of Lille. They were very particular about the color of the cloths. They ordered royal blue, purple, and tan

⁶⁵ The list of merchandise sent by the van der Molen to Rome agrees with the list given by Guicciardini (*op. cit.*, pp. 119 f.) as do the lists of goods received from, and sent to, other Italian cities. For a translation of Guicciardini's lists, see Wegg, *op. cit.*, pp. 327 ff.

⁶⁶ One order for five door hangings was sent by mail to the best tapestry master in Audenarde (Brievenkopij, fols. 190^r and 220^r).

⁶⁷ Haarlem cloths had a seal with a sword on it and were frequently called "cloths of the sword" (*panni della spada*) in the letters. Leyden cloths had a key on their seal and were called "cloths of the key" (*panni della chiave*) (Brievenkopij, fols. 21^r, 37^v, 48^r, 60^r, 97^v, 101^v, and 112^v). The coat-of-arms of Haarlem has a sword and stars, that of Leyden has two keys. Haarlem cloths were consistently 8s. more expensive than Leyden ones—i.e., when a Haarlem cloth cost £3 14s., a Leyden one cost £3 6s. According to a letter of 1541, Haarlem produced only about 7,000 cloths per year, whereas Leyden produced about 24,000 annually (*ibid.*, fol. 198^r). Both cities specialized in black cloth, each maintaining that its black dye was the finest in the world (*ibid.*, fols. 21^r, 97^v, 112^v). For the Leyden cloth industry see N. W. Posthumus, *De geschiedenis van de Leidsche Lakenindustrie: I. De Middeleeuwen (veertiende tot zestiende eeuw)* (The Hague, 1908).

broadcloths, for which the van der Molen had to send to England, bright yellow, golden yellow, and vivid green says. They sent samples of cloths to show the desired shades, and they frequently complained that the colors, especially the yellow says, were not rich enough or were streaked.⁶⁸

Practically all the goods purchased by the van der Molen for these principals were bought for cash rather than on credit. Flemish cloths and says of Hondschoote and Bergues could not be procured on credit. Tapestries were paid for on delivery, and sometimes money was advanced to the weavers. Occasionally English or Dutch cloths were bought on credit, but rarely for this group of customers, since they were able to keep the van der Molen supplied with cash so that better prices could be obtained.

Most of these Italians sent bills of exchange with their orders, asking that the amount of the bill, when payment had been made, be invested in says or other cloths. At times the van der Molen received orders for a specific number of cloths or ells of tapestry and paid for them by drawing bills of exchange on the principals. One of this group, Geronimo Piperrario, always sent real money by the post. For example, on October 15, 1543, he sent 273½ Italian *scudi d'oro* by the regular postal service. The van der Molen had to pay 1 per cent postal charges to Antonio di Taxis, the postmaster in Antwerp, and an acquittance signed by them was sent to Mantua.⁶⁹ Another time he sent 600 French *écus d'or*, then 312 Italian *scudi*, then 400 French *écus*, then 730 French *écus*, etc.⁷⁰ These, the van der Molen changed into gold florins or réals of the Netherlands and credited the value thereof to Piperrario's account.

⁶⁸ The van der Molen assured their Ferrara clients they that repeatedly admonished their Hondschoote factor to send only says of the finest colors, and in their two extant letters to him they stressed the importance of rich, even colors and threatened to return to him any poorly colored says he shipped them (Brievenkopij, fols. 41^v-42^r, 110^r).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 275^r and 279^v.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 283^v, 286^v, and 289^r.

With their orders for cloth, the Italians frequently gave the maximum price that they were willing to pay. This price was often below the current price, so that numerous orders could not be filled at the time of receipt and were filed away. Often the principal, if he greatly desired the merchandise, authorized the van der Molen to buy at the market price, unless they thought prices were going down.⁷¹ Sometimes the van der Molen were able to purchase goods at less than the price offered by a principal. For example, in February, 1528, Dolze ordered 300 ducat's worth of pepper at 24*d.* per pound. The van der Molen filled the order at 23½*d.* per pound.⁷² This situation was repeated in the purchase of cloth during 1539, when cloth prices were falling rapidly owing to the devaluation of gold in relation to silver and the resulting tightness of money in the Netherlands.

On the whole this first group of principals, for whom the van der Molen acted only as purchasing agents, were satisfied with the prices and the quality of the merchandise bought for them by the Antwerp commission merchants. There were occasional complaints concerning poor colors or streaked cloths, tapestries that were not the right width or length or not so good a quality as a previous shipment, pieces of linen that were not properly folded, etc., but these were exceptions. Most of their complaints were in regard to the length of time it took for the goods they had ordered to reach them in Italy. Part of this slowness was due to difficulties in filling certain orders and part of it was due to delays in transportation after the goods had been intrusted to the best common carriers for Italy.⁷³ At times there was a shortage of one kind

⁷¹ In August, 1538, Martino Zerchiari ordered fifty or sixty pieces of Hondschoote says at 19*s.* per piece. When the order arrived, the says were selling at 20*s.* 4*d.* and going up in price because the French were buying large quantities of the cloth. The van der Molen wrote that they could only file the order and await lower prices (*ibid.*, fol. 32^r). In his following letters Zerchiari authorized the van der Molen to buy at the market price.

⁷² *Ibid.*, fol. 3^r.

⁷³ For delays in transportation see below, pp. 138-40.

of cloth or another. Large orders for Hondschoote says and Winchcombe kerseys were not easily filled.⁷⁴ If orders for linens were received in the wintertime, it was often impossible to fill them before June, when the freshly bleached linen was ready for the market.⁷⁵ The slowness of tapestry weavers caused much annoyance to the van der Molen and their principals. Very few tapestries were finished on schedule time, delays of several months being not infrequent. Certain colors of cloth were hard to get and had to be specially ordered from England or elsewhere. Sometimes the commission merchants bought cloths of another color and had them dyed according to the samples received from Italy.

Sometimes the slowness in the receipt of goods in Antwerp was due to unusual conditions of nature, such as severe snow and ice during several winters, which caused delays in the arrival of shipments of cloth from Hondschoote.⁷⁶ The excessive heat of the summer of 1540 which produced much illness among tapestry and cloth workers also delayed deliveries,⁷⁷ as did the pest in London in November and December, 1543, during which no ships left London for several weeks.⁷⁸ In July, 1541, the van der Molen had great difficulty in obtaining six *nerelistes* of Menin to be sent to Rome because of a provision in the cloth statutes of Menin that permitted the sealing of cloth during only one hour per day (eleven to twelve) in clear weather. For a fortnight there was not a single day clear enough for cloth to be sealed, and during that time no cloth was sent from Menin.⁷⁹

With the second group of principals—those who sent merchandise to Antwerp to be sold as well as ordering goods from

⁷⁴ In November, 1538, the van der Molen wrote that, although they had ordered van der Tombe to send them two hundred says weeks ago, they had received only eighty at the time of writing (Brievenkopij, fol. 42^r). Their letters to the cloth agent in London urged him to fill orders for Winchcombe kerseys more promptly.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 277^r.

⁷⁶ See below, p. 139.

⁷⁷ Brievenkopij, fols. 174^v, 177^r, 181^v.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 277^r and 278^r.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 211^r and 213^v.

there—the relations of the commission merchants were naturally more complex and, on the whole, less satisfactory. The letters (like similar letters written throughout the centuries) reveal a more or less general dissatisfaction with the van der Molen as selling agents—with the prices at which they sold the goods consigned to them by their principals and their slowness in disposing of the wares.⁸⁰ These principals also complained of the high prices they had to pay for goods ordered through the Antwerp firm. They maintained that the current selling prices for northern cloths in Italy and the Levant were so low in comparison with the purchase prices in Antwerp that no profit was possible.⁸¹

The most important firm in this second group was Geronimo Azeretto and Company of Genoa. This house had branches or other affiliations in Ferrara, Venice, Messina, Palermo, and Chios.⁸² From Genoa velvets were sent to Ant-

⁸⁰ Some merchandise was kept over a year before it was sold: a shipment of mace from Venice, some Venetian tapestry silk, some coarse floss silk from Bologna, two shipments of mohair—one from Ancona and one from Venice—and quantities of turquoises sent from Venice, one lot of which was returned unsold.

⁸¹ The same situation was apparently true in Antwerp: the Germans were selling Italian sewing silk at such a low price that the van der Molen had great difficulty in selling Bolognese sewing silk at even a slight profit for their principals (Brievenkopij, fols. 219^r and 230^v). The Florentines were selling imported camlets at less than the price they cost in Ancona and Venice (*ibid.*, fols. 184^r and 204^r). The van der Molen summed up the difficulties of this situation—i.e., high prices for commodities in or near the place of production and low prices for the same merchandise in distant markets—in numerous letters. Here is a characteristic one sent to the Venetian branch of Azeretto & Co., of Genoa: "November 14, 1540. We received your letter of the 9th ultimo and regarding the ginger we are sorry that you did not make the desired profit on it. We tried to sell it at the highest gain for you that was possible. It appears that today all merchandise goes in this fashion: Camlets in Ancona are expensive, and here one cannot recover the net cost of them. Here one must beg to get kerseys, says, and fine cloths even for cash and in Venice and Ancona they are giving them for less than cost (Abiamo la vostra de 9 ditto e quanto alli zinzeri ne dispiace che non ne fate el profito desiderate. Noi non li abiamo manchato de cerchare el più utile vostro sia stato possibile. Ne pare che hogi di tutte le mercanzie vadino a questo modo: li cameloti in Ancona sono chari et qui non se ne cava el capitale. Le carixee, panni e saije qui bisogna pregar per averle per contanti et a Venezia et Anchona le dano per mancho del costo....)" (*ibid.*, fol. 184^v).

⁸² The island of Chios was a Genoese possession from 1303 to 1566.

werp. From Venice tapestry silk, cotton, sugar, ginger, and cinnamon were sent overland. From Messina cumin, gallnuts of Apulia and Istria, and some camlets were shipped to Antwerp. Azeretto ordered fairly large quantities of English kerseys, some Suffolk and Kent cloths, and much linen. Some of the kerseys were shipped to Genoa, others to Sicily and to Chios. All of the linen was sent to Genoa.

Other important customers were the Davizani Brothers in Bologna, who sent large consignments of sewing silk called "middle silk" (*mezze sete*),⁸³ and who ordered cambric and batiste linens and tapestries; and two houses in Ancona: Bernardo Morando⁸⁴ and Giovanni Senati, both of which sent Levantine camlets and mohair to the van der Molen and received from Antwerp large quantities of English kerseys, especially Winchcombe ones for which there was a great demand in the Levant, some Dutch woollen cloths and some Flemish ones.

There were several Venetian consigners, all of whom were hard to deal with and who ceased employing the services of the Antwerp firm as their consignees before 1542. One of them, Martino Bragadini, was so displeased with the price at which, in the summer of 1538, the van der Molen had sold his three bales of camlets containing 180 pieces that he ended his relations with them as soon as the money for the camlets

⁸³ The sewing silk from Bologna as well as the tapestry silk from Venice came wrapped in small paper packages. The *mezze sete* were in blue wrappers (Brievenkopij, fol. 116^v). The papers of tapestry silk usually weighed four pounds apiece (*ibid.*, fols. 39^v and 63^v).

⁸⁴ Morando had evidently been dissatisfied with the service of the commission merchants in the days of Frederick van der Molen and had transferred his account to Jacopo da Fagnano in Antwerp. When Fagnano left Antwerp, he renewed his business relations with the van der Molen (*ibid.*, fol. 35^r). He was not well pleased with the service of the brothers, but he continued to deal with them during the period of the letters. In 1541 he complained that the van der Molen were sacrificing his camlets to enrich the mercers of Antwerp; he was losing money on them. The van der Molen replied that the mercers complained they had paid too much for them and could not sell them at a profit (*ibid.*, fols. 215^v and 217^r).

had been collected and sent to him.⁸⁵ Martino Zerchiari sent Venetian satins and some mohair and received from Antwerp a good many says of Hondschoote and Bergues, a few linens, and a few tapestries. In 1540 he became impatient with the van der Molen's slowness in disposing of some mohair and satins and transferred his account to an Italian firm in Antwerp, the Di Poggio of Lucca.⁸⁶ Agostino Contarini sent a large shipment of mace in 1538, which the van der Molen had great difficulty in selling. Some was sold late in 1539 and the balance in 1540, all of it at low prices. Contarini ordered a few kerseys, a little Dutch linen, and a few pieces of tapestry. The account with him was closed in June, 1541. Niccolò Dolze sent two parcels of turquoises which were even harder to sell than Contarini's mace. One lot was sold, and the other was returned to Venice. In 1538 Dolze ordered several shipments of pepper from Antwerp.⁸⁷ Francesco da Fin sent turquoises, cotton, and one consignment of drugs—camphor, cubebs, galangal, and *zedoaria*—which arrived in 1539, during the period of exceedingly low prices owing to the new measures regulating the course of gold, and were sold at such unfavorable prices that Da Fin sent nothing more. With the money from the sale of the drugs and the turquoises, the van der Molen purchased thirty-nine second-grade kerseys and three tapestry door hangings.

⁸⁵ The Antwerp firm claimed that the camlets had been sold at 1s. or 2s. higher than the current price but that, had they been sold at 10s. higher than their value, Bragadini would not have been satisfied (*ibid.*, fol. 74^v).

⁸⁶ The van der Molen protested that no one in Antwerp could sell his goods at a better price than they and that they would await a reply before turning over his goods to the Di Poggio. Zerchiari insisted that his order be executed, and the van der Molen complied with it (*ibid.*, fols. 176^v, 188^r, 189^r, and 193^r).

⁸⁷ Guicciardini (*op. cit.*, pp. 119 f.) mentions that, whereas such spices as cloves cinnamon, nutmeg, and ginger were sent from Venice to Antwerp in small quantities, pepper was sometimes sent from Antwerp to Venice. The pepper trade was the only one on which the king of Portugal was able to keep a monopoly. Other East Indian spices reached the Mediterranean countries in small quantities by the old routes (Wegg, *op. cit.*, p. 285; cf., also, my article, "The Market for Spices in Antwerp, 1538-1544," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, to appear in 1938).

Most of the merchandise received from Italy was sold on credit, with terms of three months to two years. Two fairs (i.e., about six months) were the most frequent credit terms. For one customer, Azeretto and Company, the van der Molen sold some velvets and tapestry silk by means of money barter, i.e., the goods to be exchanged were valued in terms of money. The Italian goods were estimated at a higher price than their cash value, as were the English cloths, Dutch linens, etc., received in exchange.⁸⁸ The English and Netherlandish merchants would rarely consent to accepting Italian goods in even exchange, that is, without the transfer of any money. They usually demanded at least one-fourth, and sometimes as much as one-half, of the price of their cloths in cash or in a note due at one of the next fairs; for example, if they bartered a lot of cloths estimated at £100, they would accept only £75, or less, in merchandise and the balance in money. Since the northern cloth was estimated at a higher price than its current cash or credit value, this type of barter was not very profitable to the Italian merchants. The van der Molen were able to barter some velvets for northern kerseys and for several sacks of pepper on a basis of even exchange, but in the case of 150 pieces of Dutch linen, they succeeded in giving only 50 per cent in tapestry silk and the other half had to be paid in money.⁸⁹ Azeretto wanted the van der Molen to dispose of most of his consignments, which did not find a ready market, by money barter, but the English and Flemish cloth that he especially desired in exchange were not obtainable by barter. Northern kerseys and "dozens" were the only English cloths that were offered in barter; the demand for the other English cloths, especially for the better grades of kerseys, was so great that they could be sold readily

⁸⁸ Money-barter transactions, in which both commodities to be exchanged are overvalued, are described in full detail by the Antwerp merchant, Jan Ympyn, in his treatise on bookkeeping (*De Roover, Jan Ympyn*, pp. 17-20; cf., also, my *Glossary*, pp. 43, 394 ff.).

⁸⁹ *Brievenkopij*, fols. 105^v, 116^r, 148^r.

for cash. This was also true of Hondtschoote says and other Flemish cloths. An additional reason why it was impossible to procure says of Hondtschoote and Bergues by barter was the fact that these cloths were purchased directly from small clothiers or weavers in the region where they were woven, who were very poor and needed cash with which to buy bread.⁹⁰

The goods which the van der Molen received on consignment from their principals were usually sold to local retailers and industrial consumers. Spicers bought the spices; jewelers, the turquoises; mercers, the velvets, camlets, and silk thread; and tapestry masters, the silks for tapestries. A few of the mercers and a number of the tapestry master-weavers were outside of Antwerp, either in Bruges or in Brussels.⁹¹ Occasionally, the van der Molen sold goods on credit to foreign merchants, especially English mercers, to whom velvets were sold, Portuguese merchants, who took some camlets, and Easterlings, who bought spices. One of the English mercers, John Over of London and Antwerp, to whom they had sold a large quantity of Genoese velvets, went bankrupt in 1540.⁹² Henceforth the van der Molen were wary about giving credit to foreign merchants.

There were also failures among the Antwerp mercers and other shopkeepers, during the winter of 1539-40—a period of money shortage and exceedingly low prices—and during the war of 1542-44.⁹³ Fortunately none of the local creditors

⁹⁰ "E quanto a le saye scotte.... tanto li saria modo di baratar in qualsivogli mercantia, chome se voi a Genoa voresti aver pezze cento veluti da poveri tessadori al incontro de drapi d'oro. A Honschott sono poveri vilani che le fano et subito fatti bisogna abino li denari per comprar del pane per vivere. Et quelli che li comprano sono altri et noi che li mandamo a Venezia et in Italia, et non vengano qui in Anversa alle fiere chome altre mercantie, sì che non è mercantia di baratto" (*ibid.*, fol. 6^r).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 138^r and 153^r.

⁹² Of the £385 (Flemish) which Over owed to Azeretto & Co. for velvets, less than half was eventually recovered by Over's sending some kerseys in 1542 and 1543 (*ibid.*, fols. 136^v, 137^r, 141^v, 156^r, 159^r, 165^v, 197^r, 199^r, 219^r, 255^r, 258^r, 262^r, 265^r).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, fols. 138^v, 139^r, 140^r, 142^r, 258^v, 259^v, 282^r.

of the van der Molen or of their Italian principals went bankrupt, although it was difficult to make collections, especially during the first half of 1543, when business in Antwerp was apparently dead.⁹⁴

The van der Molen occasionally informed their correspondents that the goods belonging to them that they now had on hand in Antwerp were not in demand but that such and such other merchandise would find a ready market at a good price, if their principals chose to send some of it. The Italians sometimes followed the suggestion of the Antwerp firm but rarely with satisfactory results: by the time the new merchandise arrived, the demand had ceased, or the price had gone down because large quantities had arrived from Italy, or the goods sent were not the quality and colors that the Netherlanders had advised sending. In September and October, 1538, the van der Molen wrote Azeretto and Company that cumin were very scarce and would bring a good price, 20s.-22s. per hundred pounds. The company shipped some from Sicily by a vessel which was delayed, so that the spices did not arrive until May, 1539, by which time the price had dropped to 16s. It continued to fall until it reached the very low price of 14s.⁹⁵ In the early months of 1539 the van der Molen wrote their principals in Ancona that there was a demand for fine watered mohair, especially red and blue ones. When those sent from Ancona arrived, they were too coarse and not the right colors and, consequently, hard to sell.⁹⁶ The same was true of some Venetian satins. In May, 1539, the firm advised Zerchiari in Venice to send some very fine satins but stated that there were plenty of medium-grade ones in Antwerp. When Zerchiari's satins arrived, they were found to be too coarse.⁹⁷

As in the case of the principals for whom the van der Molen acted only as purchasing agents, this second group sent bills

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 252^r, 254^v, 258^v, 259^v, 261^v.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 61^r, 66^r, 95^r.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 40^v, 41^r, 85^r.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 78^r and 105^r.

of exchange with large orders, provided that the van der Molen were not able to sell rapidly the goods they had on consignment. In most cases the orders for merchandise wanted from Antwerp far exceeded the value of the goods to be sold in return.⁹⁸ The bills of exchange were usually drawn on Italian houses in Antwerp such as the Affaitadi of Cremona, the Guicciardini of Florence, and the Balbani, Bonvisi, Burlamacchi, and Guinigi of Lucca. Some bills were also drawn on German houses, notably, the Fuggers and the Welsers. The van der Molen also drew bills on their Italian correspondents to settle accounts.

Occasionally, the van der Molen accepted a bill that was drawn on them by one of their principals, for example, J. Cibo Donato, the associate of Azeretto and Company, in Venice, drew a bill for £120 4s. 9d. on the van der Molen payable to Antonio Doria Diurea. The van der Molen accepted the bill and paid Diurea by giving him £18, which was the profit on the sale of some silk sent by Donato, and the balance they obtained in cash from Johann Welser and Company, by drawing a bill on Cibo Donato.⁹⁹ When nonclients drew bills on them, they always refused them, saying that they had no money on hand or could not obtain enough funds by the date the bill was due.¹⁰⁰

The van der Molen usually charged a commission of 3 per cent for their services as selling or purchasing agents. This was the usual commission in Antwerp at that time.¹⁰¹ In some instances the van der Molen lowered their commission rate; why they did so is not usually clear. They charged the Davizani of Bologna only 2 per cent on all the silk thread they

⁹⁸ There was one Italian firm, the Davizani of Bologna, who were always creditors of the van der Molen because they sent more silk than they ordered merchandise.

⁹⁹ Brievenkopij, fol. 63^{r-v}.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 15^v and 231^r.

¹⁰¹ In the Affaitadi ledgers of 1548 to 1558 (Manuscripts divers, Nos. 2785, 2785^{bis}, 2786, Municipal Archives, Antwerp) there are numerous entries for commission received by the Affaitadi—always 3 per cent—on the sale of goods consigned to them by Italian consignors.

sold for them; they charged Niccolò Dolze of Venice 2 per cent on all the pepper they shipped him; they charged $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on a large shipment of four hundred Hondschoote says sent to Geronimo Piperario in Mantua, but on other goods sent to him they charged the full commission.¹⁰² Their rates varied considerably with one customer, Azeretto and Company of Genoa, Messina, etc. Their regular commission on sales or purchases for Azeretto appears to have been 2 per cent. On a case of twenty pieces of velvet which were water-stained from rain, they offered to charge only $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent commission.¹⁰³ On the next two cases sent by Azeretto, which arrived in good condition, they charged $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent; then they returned to their normal 2 per cent.¹⁰⁴ In May, 1540, Azeretto agreed to pay 3 per cent commission whenever the van der Molen sold more than ten pieces of velvet to one person or one company.¹⁰⁵ When the van der Molen could not sell goods but returned them to their owner, they charged 1 per cent commission for their services, for example, in the case of the turquoises returned to Dolze in Venice.¹⁰⁶

There are very few copies of invoices in the letter-book. The invoices and accounts, which accompanied many letters from the van der Molen to their principals, were usually on separate sheets. They were probably copied into a special register.

Two interesting examples of such accounts, found in the extant letter-book, relate to two shipments sent to Martino Zerchiari in Venice: one of fifty says and the other consisting of sixteen says and eight pieces of linen. The invoice for the first lot was included in the text of a letter, dated January 11, 1539. The second was sent with a letter dated February 1, 1539. It is an account which includes the total carried forward of the previous invoice, the amount laid out by the

¹⁰² Brievenkopij, fol. 281^r.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, fol. 115^v.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 132^r and 142^r.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 156^r.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 203^v.

van der Molen for the purchase of the above-mentioned pieces of cloth and linen, the charges paid for wrappings, cords, porters, etc., the commission of 2 per cent of the Antwerp firm as purchasing agents, the carriage charges from Antwerp to Venice at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ florins Rhenish per hundred pounds, and finally the brokerage charges paid by the van der Molen on the bill of exchange drawn by them on their principal. All these items amount to a total of £105 18s. 4d. Flemish. The account also indicates how the van der Molen received payment for this amount. It appears from the information given that their Venetian principal, Zerchiari, had sent on account a bill of exchange for 90 ducats, equivalent to £27 7s. 6d., payable by the Affaitadi. The balance, £78 10s. 10d., was received from the Welsers in favor of whom the van der Molen drew a bill of exchange on Zerchiari for $268\frac{1}{3}$ ducats at the rate of $70\frac{1}{4}$ ducats per Flemish pound.¹⁰⁷

As examples of similar accounts are not common for the period and for Antwerp, and as these accounts illustrate very well what is said in these pages about the role of the van der Molen as commission merchants, I shall translate the whole text here:¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ "Heri v'abiamo tratto duc. 268 d.8 a d.70 $\frac{1}{4}$ a uxo a pagar a Velzeri che sono per saldo del vostro chonto chome qui a basso vedette. Coxì vi piacerà pagarli al tempo metendo a ditto chonto, et sarano pari, per vostro avixo" (February 1, 1539 [*ibid.*, fol. 56^v]).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 50^v:

Le ditte pezze 50 saije costano.....	£55. ... 4
Et le 2 carpette.....	£... 8. 4
Et per la provixione a 2 per cento.....	£ 1. 2. ...
E le 16 bazane a d.5.....	£... 6. 8
E canevaze, ligar, corde, fachini.....	£... 5. 9.
E la condotta de qui a Venezia a fl.4 $\frac{1}{2}$ el cento val fl.19 a s.4 d.8 l'uno.....	£ 4. 8. 8
Somma.....	£61 5.11 d.9

[Invoice included in the letter of January 11, 1539]

The said 50 pieces of says cost.....	£55	s...	d.4
And the two <i>carpette</i> [coarse cloth for wrapping]....	£...	s.8	d.4
And the commission at 2 per cent.....	£ 1	s.2	d...
And 16 pieces of soft leather at <i>d.5</i>	£...	s.6	d.8
And canvas, roping, cords, porters.....	£...	s.5	d.9
And the carrying charges from here to Venice at fl.rh.4½ per hundred [lb.] amount to fl.19 at s.4 d.8 each [florin].....	£ 4	s.8	d.8
Sum total.....	£61	s.11	d.9

[Account sent with letter of February 1, 1539]¹⁰⁹

Here below is the account of a small bale no. 6,
with the above [sign], which left here on
January 30th:

And first the 90 ducats received from the Affaitadi are	£27	s.7	d.6
And 268½ ducats at <i>d.70¼</i> obtained from the Welsers..	£78	s.10	d.10
Sum total.....	£105	s.18	d.4

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 56^v:

Qui appresso sarà il chonto d'una baletta n°. 6 del avanti,
partì de qui a dì 30 jenaro:

Et prima li duc.90 autto da l'Afaytati sono.....	£27	. 7.	6
et duc.268½ a <i>d.70¼</i> prexi da Velzeri.....	£78	.10.10	
Somma.....	£105.18.	4	
A l'incontro			
El resto del altro chonto sono.....	£61.11.9		
Et in la baletta n°. 6 sono			
pezze 14 saije bianche a s.21 <i>d.4</i> }.....	£16.19.4		
pezze 2 saije b. a s.20 <i>d.4</i> }			
16			
L. pezze 2 tele fine braccia 83½ a <i>d.16</i> el bra. }			
M. pezze 4 — ditte braccia 167 — a <i>d.17</i> el bra. }	£23.15.5		
N. pezze 2 — ditte braccia 85 — a <i>d.18</i> el bra. }			
pezze 2 carpette per invoglio a s.3.....	£...	6...	
et per nostra provixione delle ditte saije et tele £40.14.9 a 2 per cento.....	£...	16...	
et per 8 bazane a <i>d.5</i> l'uno.....	£...	3.4	
e per canavaze, corde, ligar, fachini.....	£...	3.6	
e per el porto de qui a Venezia de ditta baletta pexa lib. 208 a fl.4½ val fl.9.....	£ 2.	2...	
E per sanzaria delli duc.268½..	£...	1...	
Somma.....	£105.18.4		

Counterpart

The balance of the other account is.....		£61 s.11 d.9
And in bale no. 6 are		
14 pieces of undyed say at s.21 d.4	}.....	£16 s.19 d.4
2 pieces of undyed say at s.20 d.4		
<hr/>		
16		
L. 2 pieces of fine linen, 83½ yd. at d.16 per yd.	}....	£23 s.15 d.5
M. 4 “ “ “ “ 167 yd. at d.17 “ “		
N. 2 “ “ “ “ 85 yd. at d.18 “ “		
2 <i>carpette</i> for wrapping at s.3.....		£... s.6 d...
And for our commission of the above-mentioned says and linens, £40.14.9 at 2 per cent.....		£... s.16 d...
And for 8 pieces of soft leather at d.5 each.....		£... s.3 d.4
And for canvas, cords, roping, porters.....		£... s.3 d.6
And for carriage charges from here to Venice of said bale, weighing 208 lbs., at fl.rh.4½ [per 100 lb.] amount to fl.9.....		£2.. s.2 d...
And for brokerage charges on the duc. 268⅔.....		£... s.1 d...
<hr/>		
Sum total.....		£105 s.18 d.4

Frequent mention has been made of the fairs of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom at which the van der Molen purchased some goods for their principals and sold some of the merchandise consigned to them. There were four fairs—two of them held in Antwerp and two in Bergen-op-Zoom, north of Antwerp. In the middle of the sixteenth century all the fairs lasted normally six weeks and were followed by ten days of payments. The duration of the fairs was sometimes extended by order of the emperor, and the extension of the period of fair payments was not infrequent. The Easter payments of 1539, which began May 20, were extended until June 15 on account of the confusion caused by the devaluation of gold on May 8.¹¹⁰ The Easter payments of 1540 were prolonged five days because of the arrival of the emperor in Antwerp.¹¹¹

The Bergen fairs were the winter and spring ones: the Cold

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 80^v.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 156^r.

Mart (*Coudemarkt* or *Foire froide*) began officially the end of October, and with the prolongation that was customary during the sixteenth century, the freedom of the Cold Fair was often extended until Christmas.¹¹² But, because of bad weather and the late arrival of foreign merchants, especially the English, the Cold Mart lasted unofficially throughout January and part of February—according to the van der Molen letters.¹¹³ The period of ten days of fair payments for the Cold Mart began the middle of February.¹¹⁴ The second Bergen fair was the Easter one (*Paaschmarkt* or *Foire de Pâques*), called “Pask (or “Passe”) Mart” in contemporary English documents.¹¹⁵ It began the day before Good Friday and ended ten days before Pentecost. The Easter payments began the week before Pentecost: on Monday, in 1538, on Tuesday, in 1539, on Saturday, in 1540.¹¹⁶

The Antwerp fairs were the “Pinxster” or “Synchon” Mart following Pentecost¹¹⁷ and the “Balms” or “Bamas” Mart or September Fair which began in September and included Bamis Day, the first of October.¹¹⁸ The payments for the Bamas Mart began early in November.¹¹⁹

¹¹² C. Sloomans, *De Bergen op Zoomsche Jaarmarkten en de Besoekers uit Zuid-Nederland* (Bergen-op-Zoom, 1934), pp. 12 f., and table opposite p. 38.

¹¹³ Brievenkopij, fols. 51^v, 53^r, 135^v, 138^v, 192^r, 193^v, 196^r, 225^v, 278^v, 281^v, 286^v. See also my article, “Attendance at the Fairs of Bergen-op-Zoom, 1538–1544,” *Sinte Geertruydisbronnen* (Bergen-op-Zoom), No. 3 (1936), pp. 1–15.

¹¹⁴ Brievenkopij, fols. 59^v, 131^r, 133^v, 227^r.

¹¹⁵ Eileen Power, “The Wool Trade in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. E. Power and M. M. Postan (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1933), p. 66. See also two English documents in *Minutes du notaire G. Strijt*, 1540, fols. 174^r–76^r, Municipal Archives, Antwerp.

¹¹⁶ Brievenkopij, fols. 15^v, 73^r, 147^v.

¹¹⁷ The Flemish terms for Pentecost are *Pinkster* and *Sinksen*, whence the English names (Power, *op. cit.*, p. 66).

¹¹⁸ Flemish, *Bamis*; in French, *St. Bavon*. In the van der Molen letters this fair is usually called the “September Fair.”

¹¹⁹ They began on November 10 in 1539 (Brievenkopij, fol. 120^r). Goris (*op. cit.*, p. 113) makes several errors in regard to the dates of the fairs. He mentions a Cold Fair at Eastertime in Bergen and another there in May.

The movable fairs were the Easter and Pentecost ones. The four terms of payments fell approximately three months apart. According to the van der Molen letters all accounts with their principals were kept from fair to fair, whether goods were purchased for them at the fairs or not. That meant that quarterly statements were sent to all their correspondents. Credit sales and purchases were made with terms of one, two, or more fairs—two fairs or six months' time being the terms most frequently granted. It is true that by the sixteenth century fairtime had lost much of its importance, because trade was free all the year round and most merchandise was sold all the year round.¹²⁰ The letters show that the fairs were chiefly important as times of payment, but they were also important for the English cloth trade.

The English cloth fleet came only at fairtime.¹²¹ At other times merchants in Antwerp and elsewhere could order cloth in London and have it shipped to them, but the English, themselves, were not permitted to bring their cloth for display and sale except at the time of the four fairs. The English apparently brought more cloth to the Cold Mart at Bergen-op-Zoom and the Pinxster Mart in Antwerp than to the Easter and Bamas marts.¹²² When they could sell their kerseys and other cloths for high cash prices, they refused to give credit or to listen to offers of barter. During the Pinxster or Pentecost Mart of 1538, the English sold six thousand pieces of kerseys.¹²³ They did not attend the September Fair that year, but at the Cold Mart of 1539 they brought large quantities of cloth which they sold at high prices.¹²⁴

The Pentecost Fair was the principal one for linens. Linens were bleached in the spring and were ready for the market in

¹²⁰ Ehrenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

¹²¹ Wegg, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

¹²² Ehrenberg (*op. cit.*, p. 237) stated that the English held show days at the two Antwerp fairs but only occasionally attended the Bergen ones. The van der Molen letters show that for the period 1538-44 the English attended the Cold Mart of Bergen in great numbers.

¹²³ Brievenkopij, fol. 35^r.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 55^v and 56^r.

June. Some were brought to the September Fair, but practically none was found at the Cold and Easter marts.¹²⁵

The van der Molen attended the fairs in order to make some purchases of English and Flemish woolen cloth and of linens; they also tried to sell some of the velvets, silks, spices, and gems received from Italy.

The letters are full of examples of the extreme sensitivity of prices at the fairs and of the Antwerp market in general. This sensitivity characterized the market throughout most of the sixteenth century. The announcement of a royal visit or of an important festival was sufficient to cause the prices of provisions to soar.¹²⁶ Other commodities were only slightly less sensitive: the news of the approaching visit of the Regent Mary of Austria to her sister, Eleanor, queen of France, at the beginning of October, 1538, immediately affected the price of silkstuffs, especially velvets.¹²⁷

The arrival of Spanish or Portuguese ships bringing fruit, sugar, and spices meant the increase in price of Flemish cloth and tapestries, and of Dutch and Flemish linen. In February, 1538, the price of cloth went up one ducat per piece because of the arrival of Spanish ships.¹²⁸ The vessels sometimes carried back with them all the Flemish cloth on the market.¹²⁹ The says of Hondschoote went up in price early in 1538 because the Germans were buying large quantities to ship toward Venice.¹³⁰

A scarcity of Spanish, English, or Scottish wool immediately affected the prices of Flemish cloth and tapestries. In the late summer of 1538 the news of a scarcity of Spanish wool sent the price of cloth up 2s. or 3s. per piece.¹³¹ In January,

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 277^r.

¹²⁶ Goris, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹²⁷ Velvets went up 4d. per piece in October, 1538, and then fell after the Regent's departure for France (Brievenkopij, fol. 39^r).

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 2^r.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 3^v.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 25^v.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 34^v.

1539, tapestry prices increased 2*d.* per ell for the same reason.¹³² In May, 1544, cloth prices went up because of a shortage of Scottish wool caused by the war between England and Scotland.¹³³

Every rumor of peace between Venice and the Turks caused a rise in the price of English cloth and a fall in the price of Levantine commodities: camlets, silk, etc. English cloth prices rose in the spring of 1539 because of a truce with the Turks,¹³⁴ in September, 1539, because of a rumor of real peace,¹³⁵ and in the spring of 1540 because of another truce.¹³⁶ Peace was finally made in October, 1540. Within three months of the peace the price of English kerseys had increased 15 per cent because the Levant was one of the largest markets for kerseys.

Prices sometimes increased temporarily, owing to epidemics among workmen, which caused a shortage of a given product. This was true of Flemish cloth and tapestry prices in the early autumn of 1540, when there was widespread illness and even death among the weavers, caused by the excessive heat of the summer of 1540.¹³⁷

There were sudden decreases in prices just as there were sudden increases. The decline in the price of Levantine products when there was any hope of peace between Venice and the Turks, because large quantities might soon arrive, has been mentioned. The announcement of the approaching arrival of a fleet of Portuguese spice ships naturally caused a lowering of the prices of spices in Antwerp. But the news of the arrival of three or four spice ships in Marseilles had the same effect, owing to the fear that the French would no longer come to Antwerp to buy spices.¹³⁸

¹³² *Ibid.*, fol. 52^v.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 108^r.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, fol. 289^r.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 159^v.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 82^{r-v} and 84^r.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 170^v, 174^v, 177^r, 181^v.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 60^v, 122^r, 146^r, 161^v, 204^v, 223^r. For the capitulation of 1536, which gave the French the right to trade in all Turkish ports, see Martin Hartmann, "Die

There were also seasonal variations in prices, especially of certain cloths. The says of Hondshoote, for example, increased in price each summer during the harvest season, because the weavers deserted their looms for the fields, and they usually increased in price in the winter months because severe cold prevented the weavers from working.¹³⁹

Other factors that affected prices were a gradual decline in the popularity of certain cloths or a sudden and forced unpopularity owing to a royal mourning or an imperial ban. The camlets, and especially mohairs, from the Levant were declining in popularity so that the van der Molen had difficulty in disposing of those sent them by their clients. The death of the empress in Spain in the spring of 1539 and the subsequent mourning of the court of Charles V for a year made the sale of velvets and silks very difficult during 1539-40.¹⁴⁰ The courtiers wore black woolen cloth instead of any kind of silk fabric. When the period of mourning was ended, the emperor threatened to ban silk cloth in favor of woolen cloth to encourage the Flemish cloth industry,¹⁴¹ and in January, 1541, the court did rule that silk could be worn only by nobles who kept two horses ready for the service of the emperor.¹⁴² Therefore, the demand for silk cloth continued to be slight in the Netherlands, and it was not much greater in the neighboring countries because of few festivities and much warfare.

The two wars of the period, 1538-44—the war between Venice and the Turks, which lasted from 1537 to October 20, 1540, and the war of Charles V against Francis I and his allies, William, duke of Cleves, Julich, and Guelders, and

islamisch-fränkischen Staatsverträge (Kapitulationen)," *Zeitschrift für Politik*, XI (1918), 1-64. See also my article, "The Market for Spices in Antwerp, 1538-1544," *loc. cit.*

¹³⁹ Brievenkopij, fols. 283^v and 293^v; cf. Coornaert, *La Draperie-sayerterrie d'Hondshoote*, pp. 312 f.

¹⁴⁰ Brievenkopij, fols. 74^v, 82^v, 103^v, 155^v.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 180^r and 186^r.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, fol. 225^v.

Christian III of Denmark (July 20, 1542—October 2, 1544), in which England joined on the side of Charles in February, 1543—seriously affected international commerce. The war against the Turks affected the cloth trade because the Levant was one of the chief markets for northern cloths, especially for English kerseys. It interfered with the importation of silks and Turkish camlets into Italy and thence to Antwerp. This situation was less serious for Antwerp than for Ancona, which was the principal port for goods being sent to or from the Levant. The Italian city suffered from such stagnation of commerce during the Venetian-Turkish conflict that the van der Molen closed their Ancona branch at the end of 1537 or the beginning of 1538.¹⁴³

The second war, which was fought in the Netherlands and in the surrounding territory, had a disastrous effect on the commercial life of Antwerp, equaled only by the detrimental effect of the financial policy of Charles V in the Netherlands. The financial measures taken by Charles V between 1539 and 1541 will be discussed before the war, which did not break out until July, 1542.¹⁴⁴

The monetary policy of Charles V showed a complete incomprehension of the quantitative law of money, that is, that coined money follows the law of supply and demand like other commodities. The emperor acted on the principle that his authority was sufficient to give an arbitrary and fixed value to moneys. By proclamation after proclamation he tried to fix the value of gold and silver coins regardless of their market value, which was affected by the influx of gold and silver from the Americas and by numerous other factors.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ See above, p. 89.

¹⁴⁴ At the beginning of the letters (March, 1538) there was a temporary truce between the emperor and Francis I following their third war. In June, 1538, they signed the ten-year Truce of Nice, which lasted four years.

¹⁴⁵ Goris, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 and 344; Gottfried Pusch, *Staatliche Münz- und Geldpolitik in den Niederlanden unter den Burgundischen und Habsburgischen Herrschern, besonders unter Kaiser Karl V* (University of Munich dissertation [Munich, 1932]), pp. 72 f.

In 1527 the value of all gold coins which were in circulation in the Netherlands was reduced between 10 and 12 per cent in relation to silver coins. The florin carolus or florin of Brabant, which later became the monetary unit for contracts, rents, salaries, etc.,¹⁴⁶ was declared to be worth only 20 silver stivers or 40 Flemish groats instead of $22\frac{1}{2}$ stivers, which was its market value at the time.¹⁴⁷ This was a return to the evaluation of Netherlandish coins made by Charles V in February, 1521.¹⁴⁸ All other gold coins were arbitrarily devaluated in about the same proportion: the Flemish réal was reduced in value from 68 to 60 stivers, the English angel, from 65 to 57 stivers, the French écu, from 40 to 36 stivers, the Spanish ducat, from 44 to 39 stivers, the German gulden or florin Rhenish, from 32 to 28 stivers, etc.¹⁴⁹ Naturally gold left the Netherlands. It poured into France because there

¹⁴⁶ In 1531 Charles V decreed that henceforth the gold florin carolus should be the unit for all contracts, rents, salaries, etc. The Flemish pound (*pound vlaamsch* or *livre de gros de Flandre*), a money of account, which had been the unit in general use in Antwerp up to 1521, continued to be used in commercial accounts, even in the official customs accounts (Alexandre Henne, *Histoire du règne de Charles V en Belgique* [Brussels, 1859], V, 344 f.). The van der Molen kept their accounts in the Flemish pound. They quoted all prices of merchandise in terms of pounds, solidi, and deniers (in Italian, *lire, soldi e denari*), but the rates for overland transportation were always given in florins Rhenish or other gold coins. The Flemish pound was based on a real coin, the silver groat (Flemish, *groot*, French, *gros*), 240 of which equaled one pound Flemish, and 12 of which equaled one shilling (Flemish, *schelling*, French, *escalin*). The Flemish pound equaled three-fourths of a pound sterling. When the florin carolus was valued at 20 stivers or 40 groats, it took 6 florins to make one pound Flemish or *livre de gros*, or, in other words, one florin equaled 3s. 4d. gr. At the same time, the French écu *au soleil* equaled 36 stivers or 6s. gr. and the florin Rhenish, 28 stivers or 4s. 8d. gr. (cf. Hans van Werveke, "Monnaie de compte et monnaie réelle," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XIII [1934], 123-52).

¹⁴⁷ The stiver (Flemish, *stuiver*, French, *patard*) or piece of 2 groats was the silver coin of the Netherlands most frequently mentioned in sixteenth-century documents. It equaled 12 *deniers tournois* or 48 *mites de Flandre* (Flemish, *mieten*). Of Flemish silver coins smaller than the stiver and groat, there were the half-groat (*half-groot*, *demi-gros*, *liard*), four of which equaled a stiver, and the quarter-groat (*quart de gros*, *gigot*, *neghenmanneken*), which equaled six mites or one-eighth of a stiver (Henne, *op. cit.*, V, 346, 348).

¹⁴⁸ Pusch, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 f.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 92, 94; Henne, *op. cit.*, V, 337 f.

gold had a higher value in relation to silver than it did in the other neighboring countries.

The situation in the Netherlands was gradually remedied by an increase in the value of gold money—in spite of the decree of 1527—so that in 1538, when the van der Molen letters begin, the relation of gold to silver in Antwerp was practically the same as it had been before the devaluation of 1527: the florin carolus was worth 22 stivers, the French écu, 40 stivers, etc. Money was very plentiful in Antwerp throughout 1538, and prices were quite high. The fairs were well attended, especially after the signing of the Truce of Nice between Charles V and Francis I, in June, 1538, because the French returned to the fairs and bought large quantities of merchandise to take to the fairs of Lyons.¹⁵⁰

All went well until April, 1539, when the Regent Mary announced that, in order to lower prices and the cost of living, the value of gold would be reduced again—6, 8, or 10 per cent.¹⁵¹ On May 8 a proclamation reduced the value of gold coins in relation to silver by 5 per cent. It was rumored that on July 1 a further reduction of 5 per cent would be made, so that the valuation of gold would be the same as in 1527.¹⁵² The devaluation of May was felt almost immediately.¹⁵³ Within a few weeks there was a tightening of the money market. Gold coins were hoarded in the belief that the new valuation could not last.¹⁵⁴ Exchange was practically at a standstill. It was impossible to find drawers of bills of exchange.¹⁵⁵ There was a decrease in the prices of all commodities of the Netherlands, but grain went up in price, which was hard on the poor people.¹⁵⁶ Spices followed the trend

¹⁵⁰ Brievenkopij, fol. 38^v.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 73^v.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, fols. 82^v, 83^v, 88^r.

¹⁵³ See my article, "The Effects of the Financial Measures of Charles V on the Commerce of Antwerp, 1539-1542," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XVI, Nos. 3 and 4 (1937).

¹⁵⁴ Brievenkopij, fol. 85^r.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fols., 87^v and 88^v.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 82^v, 83^v, 85^r.

of Netherlandish prices, but English wool and cloth remained high.¹⁵⁷

The second devaluation of July aggravated the situation. Interest rates soared. In December they were 24-30 per cent.¹⁵⁸ Prices continued to decline, but the foreign merchants, whose money was worth less, and who expected still lower prices, were not eager to buy. The fairs were poorly attended. Only the English did fairly well, selling fewer cloths, but still at high prices.¹⁵⁹ In October, 1539, the van der Molen reported that Flemish cloths were being sold below cost, that clothiers were losing about 8s. on each piece of cloth,¹⁶⁰ that if large orders did not come soon from Italy or Spain most of the Flemish clothiers would go bankrupt (figuratively "go to the hospital").¹⁶¹ But prices went still lower. The lowest level for most Flemish cloths was reached in February, 1540;¹⁶² that for says of Hondschoote, not until June and July of the same year.¹⁶³ During the Cold and

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 91^r and 92^v.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 121^v. These high rates were partly due to the fact that in October, 1539, the factor of Portugal borrowed £300,000 in the bourse at 16-20 per cent interest, taking practically all the money to be found in Antwerp (*ibid.*, fol. 117^v).

¹⁵⁹ Kerseys sold well at the September Mart of Antwerp and the Cold Mart of Bergen (*ibid.*, fols. 107^v, 109^r, 135^v, 137^v, 139^r). But at the Easter Mart of 1540 the English sold very few cloths of any kind (*ibid.*, fol. 152^r; Edler, "Winchcombe Kerseys in Antwerp," *loc. cit.*, p. 60).

¹⁶⁰ Brievenkopij, fol. 111^r.

¹⁶¹ "Le mercanzie de qui, maxime panni e saye, stano a bassissimo pretio, di modo quelli che li fano li perdeno di capitale oltra la lor faticha. Le saye scotte [Hondschoote] stano a s.17 et doppie s.37; li oltrafini, £5 s.8, et resto questa streteza de danari, andarano anchora a mancho et se non li vien qualche rechiesta de Spagna ou d'Italia, molti draperi in Fiandra andarano all'ospitale" (*ibid.*, fol. 111^v).

¹⁶² The price of ultrafines of Armentières dropped from £6 12s per piece in April, 1539, to £5 4s. in February, 1540 (*ibid.*, fol. 135^r). When such cloth was selling at £5 8s., the van der Molen claimed that it was 8s. below cost (*ibid.*, fol. 111^r). Other fine cloths were proportionally low.

¹⁶³ From the high price of 21s. 6d. per piece, in March and April, 1539, says dropped to 16s. 2d. in December, 1539, at which price the poor artisans, who made the cloth, lost at least 1s. per piece. In June, 1540, the price for says dropped to 16s., and in July, to 15s. 10d. These were the prices in Hondschoote. In Antwerp a piece of say sold for about 8d. more (*ibid.*, fols. 123^v, 163^r, 166^r).

Easter marts of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1540 Dutch linens were sold below the cost price.¹⁶⁴

It took over a year for the Netherlands to recover from the effects of this mistaken policy. It was not until September, 1540, that money was fairly plentiful again, that prices showed a marked recovery, and that the fairs attracted a large number of buyers.

The money and commodity market remained good for over a year. Money was very plentiful from July, 1541, on, and cloth prices had climbed halfway back to their high level of April, 1539, before the end of 1541.¹⁶⁵ Then the emperor dealt the commerce of Antwerp a new blow by issuing, on December 10, 1541, an ordinance which stipulated that, henceforth, all bills of exchange must be paid two-thirds in gold. He hoped to increase the amount of precious metals in the Low Countries by this measure. The factor of the king of Portugal and numerous foreign merchants protested vehemently against the new order, pointing out to the king that this regulation, if carried out, would cripple commerce and would have the effect of draining the country of gold, instead of bringing it into the Netherlands.¹⁶⁶

The publication of the ordinance upset finances and commerce to such an extent that for several months trade was almost at a standstill. Merchants would not buy goods on credit because such goods were usually paid for with bills of exchange; they would not buy says, Flemish cloth and tapestries, and Dutch linens because all of these had to be paid for in evaluated money, i.e., the imperial and Burgundian gold and silver coins which were legal tender, and the agio on changing foreign gold into national gold currency had risen

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 152^v.

¹⁶⁵ In November, 1541, Hondschoote says were 19s. 8d. per piece, and Armentières ultrafines were £5 12s.

¹⁶⁶ Goris, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.¹⁶⁷ In April and May, 1542, the price of says dropped again to the level of December, 1539.¹⁶⁸ The Cold and Easter marts of 1542 were bad for everybody. Not even the English could sell their cloth, and so they bought nothing.¹⁶⁹ From January to April the only bills of exchange drawn were to send money out of the country; merchants and financiers abroad were waiting to see whether the protest of the important merchants would bring about the withdrawal of the ordinance.¹⁷⁰ In May the tightness caused by the new regulation began to ease slightly because money was being changed secretly.¹⁷¹ From then until the outbreak of the war in July, 1542, conditions improved because it became evident that the ordinance could not be enforced, although it was not officially altered until 1548, and not finally withdrawn until 1551.¹⁷²

The fourth war between Francis I and Charles V which broke out in July, 1542, crippled the commerce between Antwerp and Italy because it closed the overland trade routes, most of which led from Antwerp to Cologne, passing through territory belonging to the duke of Cleves, Julich, and Guelders, the ally of the French king. Routes which passed through French territory were also closed to goods coming from the Netherlands. After the retreat of the troops with which Martin van Rossem threatened to capture Antwerp, the duke of Cleves announced that he did not wish to impede traffic through his territory. All the carts ordinarily used in transporting merchandise to Cologne had been requisitioned for the imperial army. In August a few boats

¹⁶⁷ Brievenkopij, fol. 232^r (letter to Ferrara, April, 1542). The letters for 1540 and 1541 do not mention the premium on evaluated gold. According to those of 1538 and 1539, it was usually about 1 per cent. It was back to 1 per cent in December, 1542 (*ibid.*, fol. 252^r).

¹⁶⁸ They were 16s. 2d. in Hondschoote, 17s. in Antwerp (*ibid.*, fols. 232^r and 233^v).

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 227^r and 233^r.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 233^v.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 226^r and 232^r.

¹⁷² Pusch, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

carried goods to Cologne via Rotterdam and the Rhine. On September 3, the van der Molen wrote their principals in Ferrara that they would send several bales of says and tapestries by boat, but, before they had made arrangements to do so, the imperial army had entered Julich and it was no longer considered safe to send goods by the water route to Cologne. Some goods shipped to the van der Molen just before the outbreak of the war were held in Cologne and others in Basel.¹⁷³

The van der Molen did not make much use of the sea route between Antwerp and Italy during the war. Insurance was very high. There was some danger of capture by the French.¹⁷⁴ Ships were frequently delayed a month or more in leaving Zealand owing to unfavorable winds. Some goods destined for Genoa and Venice were sent by sea during the war, as well as goods for Messina, Palermo, and Chios, which were always shipped by water. The merchandise destined for inland cities and for Ancona was kept in the van der Molen storerooms awaiting a truce or a treaty of peace.

In February, 1543, the common carriers who handled most of the transportation between Antwerp and Italy arranged to send bales of goods via Luxemburg and Trier. The first wagon-train of merchandise destined for Italy left in March,

¹⁷³ Several cases of velvets from Genoa and five bales of camlets sent from Ancona were held in Cologne until September, 1543. They were safe because the burgo-master of Cologne, a friend of the van der Molen, stored them. Fifteen bales of camlets were held in Basel until May, 1543 (Brievenkopij, fols. 251^v, 252^v, 256^r, 263^r, 266^r, 268^r, 269^r, 270^v).

¹⁷⁴ The registers for the tax of 1 per cent ad valorem levied on exports from the Netherlands, 1543-45, show that a considerable amount of goods was shipped by sea during the war, but they do not show how much was destined for Italy (Chambre des Comptes, Nos. 23357-361, Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels). According to the tables based on these registers given by Goris (*op. cit.*, pp. 330-32), the exports from Antwerp by sea exceeded those by land for the six months, February 10-August 10, 1543, but for the next six months, August 10, 1543-February 10, 1544, most of which period was after the reopening of the road to Cologne, the exports by sea were less than half of those by land. For the following six months, February 10-August 10, 1544, sea exports were just a little more than half of the overland exports.

but the van der Molen were afraid to send anything with it.¹⁷⁵ In the third week of April they sent sixteen bales to Ferrara with the carrier, Pierre Thierry, via Luxemburg, Trier, and Switzerland—the first goods shipped to Ferrara since July, 1542. The cost of this transportation was very high. Special guides accompanied the wagons. Letters of safe conduct through Luxemburg, etc., were expensive.¹⁷⁶ In May the firm sent another sixteen bales with Kleinhans and Lederer.¹⁷⁷ In June the van der Molen began receiving goods from Italy by the new route.¹⁷⁸ The road to Cologne was not reopened until after the Treaty of Venlo between Charles V and William, duke of Cleves, signed September 7, 1543.¹⁷⁹

Orders from Italy for northern merchandise had not ceased on account of the war, although they were less frequent because of the difficulties of shipping merchandise to Italy. It was not easy to fill some of the orders. The say and tapestry industries suffered from the fact that many weavers left their looms to enlist as mercenaries in the imperial forces during the summer of 1542 and later.¹⁸⁰ (Many, doubtless, returned home during the winter months when the armies were inactive.) In spite of the decline in production owing to the departure of artisans, the prices of says and tapestries remained low—they had recovered only slightly from the stagnation period following the proclamation of two-thirds gold payments for bills of exchange—because there was little demand for goods. Satins of Valenciennes were very difficult to obtain early in 1544, when the van der Molen received an order from Brescia for two hundred pieces, as were cambrics or linen of Cambray, because so many villages in which the weavers lived had been destroyed during the French invasion.¹⁸¹

After the peace with the duke of Cleves, the war was

¹⁷⁵ Brievenkopij, fol. 259^r.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 261^v.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 264^v.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 266^r.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 271^v.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 244^r.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 283^v, 286^r, and 288^r.

carried into Lorraine and France. The road to Cologne was open again, and goods could easily be sent to Italy.¹⁸² The Netherlands gradually resumed their normal activities. The fairs, which had been discontinued for a year, were revived. The first big fair was the Cold Mart of 1543-44. The English appeared after the Christmas holidays with large quantities of cloth, for which there was such a great demand that all of it was sold during the first week of the display, and the merchants had to send home for more. They sold most of the new shipments before the cloth arrived.¹⁸³ German merchants bought large quantities of kerseys to ship to Hungary.¹⁸⁴ By March, 1544, money was plentiful again, in spite of the needs of the court for the conduct of the war.¹⁸⁵ Prices had started to go up and continued to improve.

The war with France was ended by the Peace of Crespy, September 18, 1544. The van der Molen letters terminate in

¹⁸² Some idea of the extent to which trade between Antwerp and Italy was revived, after the reopening of the road to Cologne, may be obtained from an examination of the large parchment registers found in Brussels, which contain the entries for the receipts of the 1 per cent ad valorem tax levied on all exports from the Netherlands between February 10, 1543, and September 24, 1545. In the volume for the six months, February 10-August 10, 1543 (Chambre des Comptes, No. 23357, Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels), the entries for taxes collected on overland shipments from Antwerp to Germany, Italy, etc., occupy only 151 folios: there are very few entries for February and March, a slight increase in April, and a goodly number of entries from May on. For the period August 10, 1543-February 10, 1544 (Register No. 23358), most of which was after the reopening of the Cologne route, the entries for overland exports from Antwerp occupy 319 folios of the same size as in the earlier register. In the following volume (No. 23359), for the period, February 10-August 10, 1544, the corresponding section contains 472 folios, or over three times as many as for the same months in 1543. For the same period of six months in 1545 there are 390 folios (No. 23363). According to the tables, given by Goris (*op. cit.*, pp. 330 and 332), of the amount of the tax collected and the value of the merchandise exported overland during these periods, the value of the exports for the period February-August, 1544, was approximately double that of the exports during the same months of 1543.

¹⁸³ Brievenkopij, fol. 281^v.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 284^r.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 283^v and 284^v. In order to help finance the war expenses, the government levied a 10 per cent tax on income from real estate, then a tax of 10 per cent on mercantile profits, next a forced loan with interest, and later another 10 per cent tax on real estate (*ibid.*, fols. 274^v and 294^v).

October, 1544, so that we cannot follow the signs of commercial recovery during the few years of peace which followed.¹⁸⁶

We may sum up these remarks about the money market and commodity prices in Antwerp during the seven years of the letters by stating that from March, 1538, when the letters begin, to May, 1539, was a time of abundance of money and high prices (in spite of the war between Venice and the Turks); that the period from May, 1539, to February or March, 1540, was a time of great scarcity of money and very low prices owing to the devaluation of gold; that the period from March, 1540, until December, 1541, was another good period with plenty of money and rising prices. The period from December, 1541, to March, 1544, was a period of tightness of money and low prices (except for a slight upward swing between May and July of 1542) owing to the two-thirds gold regulation for bills of exchange and the war with Cleves and France. From March, 1544, to October, 1544 (and doubtless beyond), was a new period of rising prices and abundance of money in Antwerp and, therefore, throughout the Netherlands because, in the words of Pirenne, "during the sixteenth century the Low Countries constituted, so to speak, merely the *banlieue* of this marvelous city which placed them under her ascendancy."¹⁸⁷

Two other topics on which the van der Molen letters furnish interesting details are the postal service and transportation between Antwerp and Italy. According to the letters the postal service was fairly regular and rapid. During 1538 couriers of the ordinary post departed approximately every three weeks. For example, mail left Antwerp March 9, 1538,

¹⁸⁶ The Schmalkaldic War in Germany, 1546-47, affected the trade of Antwerp in much the same way that the war of 1542-44 had done (see Wegg, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-81).

¹⁸⁷ "Durant tout le XVI^e siècle, les Pays-Bas ne constituent pour ainsi dire que la banlieue de cette merveilleuse cité qui les soumet à son ascendant" (*Histoire de Belgique*, III, 267).

March 30, April 17, May 11, June 1, June 22, July 13, August 3, August 24, September 14, October 4, and October 26. Beginning with March, 1539, the international merchants in Antwerp decided to send mail to Italy every four weeks, instead of every three weeks because mail from Rome and London was often delayed.¹⁸⁸ According to the new schedule, mail was sent on March 1, March 29, April 26, May 24, etc.

The postal service was in charge of the Taxis (or Tassis), a Milanese family.¹⁸⁹ They handled not only diplomatic and commercial mail but also small packages, especially gems and gold coins.¹⁹⁰ For the latter the postal charge was 1 per cent of the value of the contents.¹⁹¹ Packages were carried at the risk of the sender.¹⁹² The postmaster kept accounts of the letters sent by, and addressed to, merchants in Antwerp, who settled with him the accounts for postal charges every six months or so.¹⁹³

The van der Molen sent ten to fourteen letters at a time by the ordinary post for Italy. All the letters for one post were dated the day of the departure of the post, although some of them were written several days ahead.¹⁹⁴ The letters were

¹⁸⁸ Brievencopij, fols. 62^v, 64^v, 99^r.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 4^v, 275^r, 279^v; Goris, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–35. Cf. Fritz Ohmann, *Die Anfänge des Postwesens und die Taxis* (Leipzig, 1909).

¹⁹⁰ Early in 1539 Francesco da Fin of Venice sent a small leather casket containing 250 turquoises by the post (Brievencopij, fol. 61^v). For money sent by the post, see above, p. 100.

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 100.

¹⁹² Brievencopij, fol. 279^v.

¹⁹³ In the Affaitadi ledgers (see above, p. 109, n. 101) there are accounts opened to postal expenses (*spese di lettere*) under which are numerous entries for sums paid to the Taxis for mail sent to and received from Italy, Spain, Paris, and London. Here is a typical entry: “Spese de littere [*sic*] deno dare a dì xviii febraro [1549] £83 s.16 d. uno facciamo bono a messer Leonardo de Tassis, maestro de poste, per il portto de littere de Italia qui e de qui a Italia, ordinarie e straordinarie con scudi 25 per vantagij fatte per noi come per il conto dato da dì primo magio passato sino a l’ultimo decembre, £83 s.16 d.1” (MS No. 2785 [Grand Livre, 1548–51], fol. 104^v).

¹⁹⁴ Postscripts were sometimes added mentioning events that had occurred between the day a given letter was written and the time when the letter had to be sent to the post.

addressed to individuals or firms in Genoa, Milan, Mantua, Brescia, Ferrara, Venice, Bologna, Ancona, Rome, Messina, and Palermo; but the Brescia, Ferrara, Bologna, and Ancona letters were tied with the Venetian ones and all sent first to the branch house in Venice, from where they would be forwarded.¹⁹⁵ All the letters for customers in Rome were sent in care of Francesco Formento, the most important Roman client of the van der Molen, who delivered them to the others and collected the postal charges from them.¹⁹⁶

At first the letters to Genoa, which included those for Messina and Palermo, were sent in care of the Affaitadi, that is to say, the van der Molen gave their Genoa letters to the Affaitadi house in Antwerp, and they were sent to the Affaitadi branch in Genoa by the regular post. Likewise, letters from Genoa were sent to the van der Molen in Antwerp through the Affaitadi.¹⁹⁷ In April, 1539, when the van der Molen received no letter from their only Genoese principal, Geronimo Azeretto, they suspected that the boy sent by the Affaitadi to deliver mail in Antwerp had lost the letter on the way and they decided to stop sending letters in care of the Affaitadi, believing that letters would receive as good, if not better, care if addressed directly to Azeretto and handed to the post in Antwerp.¹⁹⁸ The latter also began to send his letters directly to the van der Molen.

Sometimes, a copy of a letter sent by the regular post was sent with a carrier, who was conveying bales of goods to Antwerp. Naturally the copy arrived much later than the letter sent by the regular post.

The letters received from Genoa took twelve to fifteen days, unless there was some unusual delay. Letters from

¹⁹⁵ In the letter-book they are marked as having been sent "per la posta (or "per l'ordinario")—sotto nostre."

¹⁹⁶ They are described as having been sent "per la posta—sotto Formento."

¹⁹⁷ For the history of the great Cremona banking-house, which had branches ll over Europe, see Denucé, *Inventaire des Affaitadi*. ...

¹⁹⁸ Letter of April 26, 1539 (Brievenkopij, fol. 77^r).

Rome usually took fourteen to sixteen days; from Venice, about the same time. One was received from Venice in twelve days, but that was exceptionally quick.¹⁹⁹ From Ancona, via Florence, letters took seventeen to twenty-three days, and via Venice, twenty-one to twenty-four days. In winter, delays of a week were not infrequent, although some of the fastest deliveries were made in wintertime, for example, a letter from Genoa dated February 14, 1540, arrived on February 26.²⁰⁰ Mail sent by ship was very slow. A letter from Cadiz, dated September 22, sent by ship to Antwerp was not received until December 11.²⁰¹

During the period of the war between Charles V and Francis I and his allies, 1542-44, the mail service between Italy and Antwerp seems to have been quite regular, in spite of the roads being closed to commerce. Letters were sent and received every four weeks as during peacetimes.

As the van der Molen letters illustrate, transportation between Antwerp and Italy in the sixteenth century was chiefly overland. Little was sent by sea even during the period 1542-43, when the road to Cologne was closed to commerce.²⁰² In peacetimes all the goods sent by the van der Molen overland were carried to Cologne by carts or large wagons, drawn by five, seven, or more horses.²⁰³ From there, the bales of merchandise followed one of several routes: up the Rhine to Basel by boat or barge at least part of the way,²⁰⁴ across Switzerland by cart, and over the St. Gothard Pass by pack-train to Milan, Brescia, Genoa, etc.; from

¹⁹⁹ A letter mailed March 22, 1540, arrived April 3 (*ibid.*, fol. 146^v).

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 141^v.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 128^r.

²⁰² See above, p. 125.

²⁰³ These wagons were called *Hessenwagen* because most of the carters between Antwerp and Germany were Hessians. Between Antwerp and Cologne the carters tended to avoid the highroad, because of tolls, and went through the sandy Campine (Strieder, *op. cit.*, p. xxv).

²⁰⁴ For goods carried on Rhine boats coming from Italy via Basel, see below, pp. 137-38.

Cologne to Frankfort by boat and cart,²⁰⁵ or only by cart, thence to Nuremberg,²⁰⁶ and from Nuremberg over the Brenner via Augsburg, through Bolzano and Trent to Verona and Ferrara—all the way by wagon because the cartroad over the Brenner Pass was open the entire year—or from Nuremberg via Salzburg and the Tauern, on which pass pack-animals had to be used, to Trieste and Venice.²⁰⁷ In 1543, on account of the war, goods were shipped through Luxemburg and Trier and from there to Basel or through Germany.²⁰⁸

Of the seven companies of common carriers to which the van der Molen intrusted merchandise for Italy, three were German; three, Italian; and one, Pierre Thierry, was a Lorrainer from Fontenoy.²⁰⁹ The latter's services were employed only during the war while the Cologne route was closed.²¹⁰ Two of the German firms, Georg Lederer and Company²¹¹ and Hans and Georg Kleinhans (spelled Cleynhans

²⁰⁵ According to the letters, some goods sent via the Brenner Pass and Nuremberg were carried on Rhine boats part of the way. In the winter of 1538-39, goods coming from Italy were delayed two weeks on account of ice on the Rhine, and in 1541 the Rhine was so frozen at Cologne that boats could not be used, and goods were sent from Cologne to Nuremberg entirely by cart (Brievenkopij, fols. 55^v and 195^r).

²⁰⁶ Nuremberg carts sometimes came all the way to Antwerp to load (*ibid.*, fols. 190^v and 197^r). The difficulties of loading and unloading from cart to boat and vice versa and the many high tolls on the Rhine discouraged the use of river transportation in the sixteenth century (Strieder, *op. cit.*, p. xxv). Between Cologne and Basel there were over thirty toll stations on the Rhine (Albert Huyskens, "Die Krisis des deutschen Handels während des geldrischen Erbfolgekrieges 1542-1543," *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, Heft 81 [1906], p. 48).

²⁰⁷ Brievenkopij, fols. 72^v and 145^r.

²⁰⁸ See above, pp. 125-26. For details regarding these routes between Antwerp and Italy, see E. von Ranke, "Die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen Kölns zu Frankfurt, Süd-Deutschland und Italien im 16. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XVII (1923), 54-94; Coornaert, "Les Routes commerciales d'Anvers en Italie au XVI^e siècle," *Annales de géographie*, XXXVI (1927), 168-69.

²⁰⁹ Thierry was a merchant as well as a carrier (Certificatieboeken, 1544, fol. 38^r, Municipal Archives, Antwerp).

²¹⁰ See above, p. 126.

²¹¹ Lederer & Co. was an important firm of merchants as well as shippers, with headquarters in Antwerp (see below, p. 139, n. 248, and von Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 83). Mathias Lederer succeeded Georg as head of the firm in 1544 (Chambre des Comp-tes, Nos. 23359, 23361, *et passim*).

and Clainhans in the letters and in other Antwerp documents)²¹² and the Milanese firm, Giovanni Angelo Danon (or D'Annone) and Company,²¹³ carried most of the goods sent by the van der Molen. None of the companies used by the van der Molen devoted themselves exclusively to transportation; they were international merchants as well as common carriers.

The route through Switzerland was followed by the Italian carriers, Danon and Company,²¹⁴ Niccolò di Rosso dell'Isola, and Geronimo Rovelasco and Company. Dell'Isola carried goods for the van der Molen only to Genoa.²¹⁵ Rovelasco, with whom goods were sent beginning in 1544, took them to Brescia, Mantua, Milan, and Rome.²¹⁶ Danon and Company delivered goods for the van der Molen in Genoa, Mantua, Ferrara, Venice, Ancona, and Rome.²¹⁷

The Germans—Georg Lederer, the Kleinhans, and the Todesconi—used the all-German route to the Brenner Pass, and from there the carters went through Trent and Verona

²¹² The Kleinhans are mentioned as carriers between Antwerp and Italy as early as 1509 (Certificatieboeken, 1505-9, fol. 155^v). In 1539 their headquarters were in Reutte (von Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 83). During the period of the letters, the Kleinhans transported to Italy quantities of merchandise for their own account as well as for others (Chambre des Comptes, Nos. 23357-63, esp. No. 23361, *et passim*).

²¹³ The headquarters of Danon and his brothers, who were his partners, were in Basel. They were prominent merchants as well as carriers. Giovanni Angelo Danon was forty-five years old in 1542. (Certificatieboeken, 1542, fol. 3^r; 1544, fol. 158^r; von Ranke, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 and 82; Chambre des Comptes, Nos. 23357-63; cf. Goris, *op. cit.*, p. 316).

²¹⁴ Danon occasionally sent goods via Augsburg (Brievenkopij, fol. 243^v).

²¹⁵ Dell'Isola was thirty-two years old in 1542. He shipped a good deal of merchandise for his own account. He transported goods all the way to Naples for some Italians in Antwerp (Certificatieboeken, 1542, fols. 3^v and 351^v; 1544, fols. 94^r and 82^v; Chambre des Comptes, Nos. 23357-63, *passim*).

²¹⁶ Rovelasco was a Milanese merchant, aged thirty-four in 1542. He also transported goods as far as Naples (Certificatieboeken, 1542, fols. 3^r and 248^v; 1544, fols. 39^{r-v}, 151^r, 182^v). He shipped large quantities of goods belonging to himself. The van der Molen continued to use his services in 1545 (Chambre des Comptes, Nos. 23361, 23363 *et passim*).

²¹⁷ Danon likewise shipped goods to Naples for Italian merchants in Antwerp (Certificatieboeken, 1542, fols. 246^v and 248^v).

to Ferrara, Venice, Bologna, Ancona, and Rome. Some goods sent to Ancona were carried by Lederer's men via Salzburg, Trieste, and Venice.

Most of the merchandise destined for Venice, Bologna, Ancona, and Rome was not transported by the original carriers beyond Ferrara, which was an important reshipping center for goods coming from or being sent beyond the Alps via the Brenner Pass.²¹⁸ The bales of merchandise shipped by the der Molen to points beyond Ferrara were usually consigned to one of two forwarding agents in Ferrara,²¹⁹ who held them until the merchants in Bologna, Ancona, etc., to whom the goods belonged, sent orders for their further transportation. The forwarding agents paid the transportation charges from Antwerp to Ferrara, and the expenses from Ferrara to Bologna, etc., were paid by the owners on receipt of the goods. The van der Molen in Antwerp paid the charges on merchandise sent to them from Italy but rarely advanced any part of the charges on goods shipped to Italy.²²⁰

Verona was also a reshipping center but, apparently, less important than Ferrara during this period. According to the letters, goods for Brescia and Mantua were sent either via Switzerland or via Germany and Verona, where they were reshipped.

The different firms of carriers had representatives in the important stations on their routes—the places where goods

²¹⁸ Coornaert, "Les Routes commerciales d'Anvers en Italie au XVI^e siècle," *loc. cit.*, p. 169. Kleinhans apparently carried no goods beyond Ferrara. Lederer and Todesconi handled goods all the way to Rome. Lederer's men occasionally went to Venice and Ancona (Brievenkopij, fols. 34^v and 219^v).

²¹⁹ Baillo, who was a principal of the van der Molen, was one of the forwarding agents. The other was the firm entitled "Heirs of Baltasar Machiavelli." The van der Molen corresponded with the latter only to announce that goods were being consigned to them for reshipment. The Machiavelli are mentioned as forwarding agents in the *Certificatieboek*, 1544, fols. 39^v and 151^v.

²²⁰ There is one exception: when the van der Molen shipped goods to their principal, Martin Zerchiari, in Venice, they always paid the full transportation charges to Venice in advance and added them to the invoice. Why this was done, is not clear.

were changed from cart to boat or vice versa, or where there were especially heavy tolls. These representatives had carters and boatmen at hand who carried the goods for the company without being employees of the firm. The merchants, who intrusted goods to the firms of common carriers, paid a through rate. The carriers took care of all the tolls, cartage, etc.²²¹

The transportation rates to Italy did not vary greatly during the period of the letters. The charges were sometimes lower in summer than in winter. A shortage of carts, of feed for the horses, etc., might cause an increase in rates. During the period that the Cologne route was closed on account of the war, transportation charges were unusually high.²²² The van der Molen made contracts with the carriers for through rates, either to the reshipping centers of Ferrara and Verona or to the final destination, if the carrier who received the goods in Antwerp was to deliver them to their owners. In 1538 and 1539 the price of transportation from Antwerp to Ferrara was 19 florins Rhenish per load of four hundred pounds, or $4\frac{3}{4}$ florins per hundred pounds; in 1540 it was $19\frac{1}{2}$ florins.²²³ In the winter of 1540-41 and in the spring of 1542, the charge was again 19 florins from Antwerp to Ferrara.²²⁴ In May and in November, 1541, the rate was the lowest for the seven-year period—only 18 florins from Antwerp to Ferrara.²²⁵ After the peace of September, 1543, the carriers wanted 20 florins to Ferrara.²²⁶ It was the Antwerp-Cologne stretch which was high at that time because Cologne merchants were using most of the available carts to send herring

²²¹ Von Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

²²² See above, p. 126.

²²³ Brievenkopij, fols. 161^v and 183^r. The florin Rhenish (Fr. *florin d'or du Rhin*; Flem. *goude overlantsche gulden*) was normally equal to $1\frac{2}{3}$ florins carolus. The latter is never used for quoting carriage charges in the letters.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 195^v, 228^v, 236^r.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 202^r and 221^{r-v}.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 275^v.

into Germany.²²⁷ By 1544 the price from Antwerp to Ferrara was back to 19 florins, but during Lent, because of a shortage of carts on account of the Frankfort fairs—which again increased the charges for the Antwerp-Cologne stretch—Kleinhans wanted 1 florin more per load.²²⁸

Transportation via Switzerland cost about the same as by way of Germany. In November, 1543, and March, 1544, it cost 19 florins per load of four hundred pounds to Mantua.²²⁹ During the spring and summer of 1543, when goods were sent via Luxemburg, Trier, and Switzerland, transportation charges were as high as 23 florins per load to Mantua and 26 florins to Ferrara.²³⁰

Most of the goods sent and received by the van der Molen were packed in bales. The bales varied in size and weight, but the average bale weighed around two hundred pounds. This weight was regulated by the fact that pack-horses and mules could not carry heavier bales over the mountain passes, so that bales of merchandise sent by way of Switzerland or by way of Salzburg were not supposed to exceed two hundred pounds.²³¹ On the other hand, goods shipped via the Brenner Pass, which had a cartroad, were often packed in

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 275^v. No exact figures are given in the letters for the Antwerp-Cologne stretch.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 287^r. In this letter to Ferrara, dated April 19, 1544, the van der Molen stated that everyone was having to pay double for cartage between Antwerp and Cologne, so that, if Kleinhans wanted one florin more, the regular rate between Antwerp and Cologne was apparently 1 florin Rhenish per load of 400 lb.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 277^r and 283^v.

²³⁰ Brievenkopij, fols. 265^r and 270^r. The letters do not give transportation figures for most of the other Italian cities. The rate to Venice is mentioned twice (January and February, 1539), when a load cost 18 florins (fols. 50^v and 56^v). In February, 1541, and April and May, 1544, a load cost 16 florins to Trent, 17 florins to Verona, and 18 florins to Brescia (*ibid.*, fols. 195^r, 286^v, 288^r, and 289^r). The through rate from Antwerp to Ancona was 14 *scudi* in 1539 and 15 *scudi* in 1541 and 1544 (*ibid.*, fols. 65^r, 221^r, 292^r). The Italian *scudo* equaled *ca.* 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ florins Rhenish. In 1544 the rate from Antwerp to Rome via Switzerland was 20 *scudi* or about 26 florins Rhenish (fol. 294^r).

²³¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 145^r.

bales of approximately three hundred pounds. It took only four or five Flemish or English cloths to form a bale of about two hundred pounds.²³² It took nine or ten kerseys and twenty or more Hondschoote says to make a bale of similar weight.²³³ Linens and satins were usually packed inside of says, Flemish cloths, or tapestries,²³⁴ but mention is made of three bales, with twenty pieces of fine Dutch linen in each, and another one of twenty-eight linens which were sent alone.²³⁵

Coarse cloths, such as canvas, English frieze, and something called *carpetta*, were used for wrappings.²³⁶ Several pieces of soft leather, called *bazzana*, were sometimes sewed together to form a kind of sack for protection against moisture.²³⁷

Velvets and other silk cloths sent from Genoa and Venice were shipped in wooden cases because they were more delicate than woolen cloths. When linens were shipped by sea, they were also packed in cases or chests containing fifty pieces or more.²³⁸ Other cloths sent by sea vessels were in large packs which weighed at least four hundred pounds and, sometimes, several hundred more.²³⁹

In spite of careful packing, some of the bales of cloth sent overland suffered from their journey. Cords that were too tight sometimes cut into cloth or broke cases of spices.²⁴⁰ Some bales arrived watersoaked, or, at least, with the top cloths waterstained, from rain or from carelessness on the Rhine boats. When the carriers could be held responsible,

²³² *Ibid.*, fol. 30^r.

²³³ *Ibid.*, fols. 35^r, 42^r, and 272^v.

²³⁴ A bale containing sixteen pieces of say and eight of linen weighed 208 lb. (*ibid.*, fol. 56^v).

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 37^v and 267^r.

²³⁶ Brievenkopij, fols. 7^r, 50^v, 56^v, 289^r, 291^v. See above, pp. 112-113.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 7^r, 21^v, 50^v, 56^v.

²³⁹ See below, p. 141.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 101^r and 108^v.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 197^r.

for example, in cases of damage through rain or river water, they paid from one-half to the total of the estimated amount of the damages.²⁴¹

Insurance was apparently never taken out for overland shipments because the carriers were held responsible for most damages. The total loss of merchandise was rare, even in wartimes, owing partly to the caution taken in not shipping goods when there was danger of seizure by any armed force.²⁴² No evidence has been found to show that the carriers themselves ever took out insurance to cover claims lodged by shippers.

Transportation by wagon was very slow—at least, it appears so in comparison with the postal courier service—but it was much more rapid than sea transportation.²⁴³ Whereas mail from Genoa usually arrived in less than two weeks, merchandise required about two months. Dell'Isola and Danon would not promise to deliver goods from Antwerp to Genoa in less than fifty-eight days.²⁴⁴ Rovelasco agreed to deliver some bales to Brescia in less than two months in the summer of 1544.²⁴⁵

Complaints in regard to the length of time it took goods to reach Italy were frequent from the Italian correspondents. Francesco Formento, the van der Molen's best customer in Rome, complained so often of the delays in the delivery of merchandise intrusted to the Todesconi during 1538 that, in spite of the latter's explanation that bad weather and heavy rains in Germany caused unavoidable delays, the van der

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 63^v, 116^r, 119^{r-v}, 159^v. The van der Molen, seemingly, collected damages only on goods that were waterstained from rain, but in the *Certificatieboek* for 1544 there are a series of acts regarding damages demanded of and collected from Giovanni Battista Danon by several Lucchese merchants in Antwerp for satins and other silks that were watersoaked through the neglect of the boatmen on the Rhine ("y avoit du dommage advenue comme il apparut par la negligence des navieurs par moillieure d'eaue sur Rhin") (fols. 12^r-13^v).

²⁴² For a typical contract for the shipment of goods by cart see Goris, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

²⁴³ See below, p. 142.

²⁴⁴ Brievenkopij, fol. 180^r.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 293^v.

Molen ceased employing their services as carriers and changed to Lederer and Company.²⁴⁶ In 1540 another Rome principal complained that goods sent with Kleinhans had taken five months to arrive. The van der Molen replied that they would send the next shipments with Lederer.²⁴⁷

Georg Lederer and Company did not prove much more satisfactory. In 1541 the Ancona principals complained of their slow delivery via Trieste. The van der Molen replied that they would not give this firm any more freight because the company had become too rich and wished to be served, not to serve.²⁴⁸ Henceforth, they sent goods to Ancona with Danon as far as Ferrara—either via Switzerland or via Augsburg.

Bad weather, muddy roads, swollen streams, and snow and ice were the chief causes of delay in the overland transportation of freight. The winter of 1538–39 was so severe that carters unloaded goods at an inn between Antwerp and Cologne and, borrowing money from the innkeeper, who had the bales of goods as surety, departed for home. The van der Molen had to send a man to reclaim the bales belonging to them and to reship them on their way toward Cologne and Italy.²⁴⁹ That same winter it took wagons fifteen to twenty days to bring says from Hondschoote to Antwerp because of the ice on the roads—a trip that in summer could be made in one-fourth that time.²⁵⁰ In the autumn of 1541 swollen rivers held up carts in Verona. When it was possible to continue southward, carts carrying about five hundred bales left Verona together.²⁵¹

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 34^v, 40^r, 45^r, 177^v.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 154^v.

²⁴⁸ “Li sono un male che sono troppo richi, et non vorebeno servire ma esser serviti” (*ibid.*, fol. 206^r). Lederer & Co. exported to and imported from Italy quantities of goods as merchants (see above, p. 132, n. 211, and Goris, *op. cit.*, p. 272).

²⁴⁹ Brievenkopij, fol. 55^r.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 51^r and 55^r.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 219^v.

Sometimes man rather than nature was responsible for the delays. In the spring of 1541 bales of goods being shipped to Daniel van der Molen in Venice and to merchants in Ferrara were arrested in Trent by Joan della Foglia, who was searching for goods belonging to Marans. The bales were later released by order of the emperor.²⁵² In the summer of 1542 and again in 1543 all wagons in the Netherlands were seized for the use of the artillery.²⁵³ In the spring of 1544 there was a shortage of carts to Cologne on account of the Frankfort fairs. The carriers demanded double the usual charges from Antwerp to Cologne.²⁵⁴

The war that broke out in July, 1542, soon caused the closing of the road to Cologne, and for almost nine months the van der Molen sent no goods overland. They sent a little by sea to principals in Genoa, Messina, Palermo, and Venice, but most of the merchandise for Italy was held in their storerooms awaiting the resumption of overland transportation. Some Genoese velvets and Levantine camlets, which had been shipped to the van der Molen at the outbreak of the war, were held in Cologne until after the peace between the Duke of Cleves and the emperor in September, 1543, and fifteen bales of camlets were held in Basel by the carrier who thought it unwise to try to bring them any farther.²⁵⁵

The van der Molen received and shipped very little merchandise by sea. The Messina branch of Azeretto and Company did send spices and gallnuts by ship. Some of the cloth ordered by Azeretto was sent by sea to Sicily and Chios. For example, in September, 1539, three packs of kerseys and two chests of Dutch linen were sent to Messina and five packs of kerseys, to Chios, on a Spanish ship. These goods were first sent to Arnemuiden, the Walcheren Island port in the mouth

²⁵² *Ibid.*, fols. 211^{r-v} and 214^r. Marans were converted Portuguese Jews who were suspected of Lutheran sympathies.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, fols. 243^r and 270^r.

²⁵⁴ See above, p. 136, n. 228.

²⁵⁵ See above, p. 125, n. 173.

of the Scheldt, by a river boat consigned to Piero di Negrino, who was the van der Molen forwarding agent there.²⁵⁶ Negrino was ordered to put them on board the ship called "Three Kings" and to arrange the freight charges with the captain. The van der Molen stated in a letter to Negrino that they thought the charges should be ten Italian ducats per pack of twenty kerseys and eight ducats per case of fifty linens to Messina.²⁵⁷ The rates for the packs sent to Chios, which contained fifty kerseys each, were not given. The commission merchants took out insurance on the shipments—£300 (Flemish) for the five packs going to Chios and £54 for the goods sent to Messina.²⁵⁸ We do not know the rate of premium paid to Chios, but for Messina it was 15 per cent.²⁵⁹ The figures for the shipping charges to Messina plus the insurance premium show that in the sixteenth century sea transportation between Antwerp and Italy was almost as high and to some ports probably even higher than land transportation.²⁶⁰ Bearing in mind the great length of time

²⁵⁶ See above, p. 96.

²⁵⁷ Brievenkopij, fol. 101^r. Negrino was able to get slightly better rates, that is, 10 ducats per pack of kerseys and 5 ducats per case or chest of linens (*ibid.*, fol. 109^r).

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 99^v and 120^r.

²⁵⁹ Insurance to Messina was usually about 15 per cent, although it did go as low as 10 per cent during the period of the letters (*ibid.*, fols. 24^v and 150^v).

²⁶⁰ A pack of twenty kerseys weighed *ca.* 400 lb. The overland charge to Genoa per load of 400 lb. was 19 florins Rhenish, to Rome, *ca.* 26 florins, and probably somewhat over 30 florins to Messina. The freight rate by sea from Zeeland for twenty kerseys was 10 ducats or 13½ florins, but to this amount must be added the charges for the river trip from Antwerp to Zeeland and the services of the forwarding agent in Arnemuiden (which are unknown) and the insurance premium. We do not know how much of the £54 insurance was for the three bales of kerseys, totaling sixty pieces, and how much was for the two chests of linen. The kerseys sent to Chios were insured for £1 4s. per piece, those sent to Messina were insured for less than £1. Let us say that they were insured for as low as 10s. per piece, or £10 per bale of twenty kerseys, on which the 15 per cent premium would have been £1 10s. or 6½ florins. Adding the 6½ florins insurance premium (which is probably too low) to the 13½ florins shipping charges from Arnemuiden to Messina, we get the sum of 20 florins, to which should still be added the unknown amount of the charges from Antwerp to Zeeland. We may conclude that the total expense of shipping 400 lb. of cloth from Antwerp to Messina by sea was over 20 florins and that the total expense

required by sailing vessels and the uncertainty of their arrival, it is not at all surprising that transportation to Italy was chiefly by land.

The "Three Kings" was to leave Arnemuïden September 13, but on October 11 she was still in Zealand, owing to adverse winds.²⁶¹ She finally sailed on October 20 and reached Messina early in February.²⁶² Three and a half months was a quick voyage between Antwerp and Messina. The shipments of gallnuts, etc., from Messina—some of them sent on the same ship, the "Three Kings"—took at least five months to reach Antwerp, and sometimes seven or eight months, when a ship was delayed at Cadiz or in other ports where it probably loaded additional cargo.²⁶³

The vessel in which the goods for Chios were reshipped from Messina ran into pirates, and, though it eventually reached Chios with its cargo, general average contributions were collected from the underwriters of the insurance taken out by the van der Molen. They had some difficulty in obtaining what was due because of a technicality in the insurance policy. The details in the letters regarding this matter give some interesting particulars on the commercial law of the time, but it is impossible to develop that subject here, or to call attention to all the interesting information contained in this valuable letter-book.

for sending the same quantity overland to Naples and thence by boat might have been *ca.* 30 florins. But the sea rate to Genoa would have been as high or higher than to Messina, whereas the overland charges were only 19 florins, so that it apparently was cheaper to send goods to Genoa by land than by sea. It is interesting to note that, even in the fourteenth century, sea transportation for expensive merchandise such as Flemish cloths was almost as high and sometimes higher than land transportation (see Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica: l'età moderna* [Padua: Cedam, 1932], p. 48, n. 1, where the author summarized the conclusions reached by Armando Saporì in his *Una Compagnia di Calimala ai primi del Trecento* [Florence: Olschki, 1932]).

²⁶¹ Brievenkopij, fol. 115^r.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, fols. 120^r and 147^r.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, fols. 64^v, 85^r, 130^v, 143^r, 152^r, 154^r, 160^r, 165^r, 175^r.

We have described the van der Molen partnership as an example of a Netherlandish firm engaged in international commerce, but how typical its activities were of other companies of the Low Countries we cannot state definitely because of the inadequacy of contemporary source material relating to similar mercantile houses. It is probable that a partnership between Flemish merchants in Antwerp and Italian merchants in Italy was unusual. Such a partnership between Flemish and Spanish merchants may have been less uncommon. Certainly a good many native merchants of the Low Countries were engaged in trade with the Iberian Peninsula,²⁶⁴ whereas few of them participated in trade with Italy. According to the records of the tax levied on all exports from the Netherlands during 1543-45,²⁶⁵ only a dozen or so Netherlandish merchants exported goods to Italy and, of these, only five firms made frequent shipments. The van der Molen easily led the group in the variety of their exports and the number of different places to which they sent goods. Jean della Faille, who perhaps exported almost as much in quantity as the van der Molen, sent chiefly says and kerseys to his associates, "Martin de Hane and Sons," in Venice.²⁶⁶ Jan Mannaert sent quantities of cloth to Venice and Ancona, whether as a commission merchant or an independent exporter is unknown. The Bomberghen Brothers—Antonius and Daniel—shipped cloth to Venice and Laurens van der Heyden, to Ancona.²⁶⁷

The commercial activities of the van der Molen Brothers appear to resemble those of the big Italian houses established

²⁶⁴ See the list given in Goris, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

²⁶⁵ Chambre des Comptes, Nos. 23357-64, Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels.

²⁶⁶ He also shipped Valenciennes satins and Flemish tapestries to Martin de Hane (Certificatieboeken, 1547, fols. 302^v-3^r, Municipal Archives, Antwerp).

²⁶⁷ Some of the goods sent by the Bomberghen and van der Heyden are listed in the tax registers as being sent to Ferrara, but, as that city was an important reshipping center, such merchandise was probably destined for Venice or Ancona.

in Antwerp and exceed those of most Netherlandish merchants trading with Italy. Like the Italian companies our Antwerp firm combined the role of commission merchants and independent importers and exporters assuming risks.²⁶⁸ The van der Molen exports compare favorably in quantity and in variety with those of most of the Italian houses which shipped merchandise from the Low Countries. Only a few firms—among them the Affaitadi, Balbani, Bonvisi, de Poggio, and Guicciardini—shipped more to Italy than did the van der Molen during 1544 and 1545.²⁶⁹

We have tried to show how this mercantile letter-book not only supplements the official records and in some instances corrects impressions based solely upon them but also throws light upon the technical organization of international trade and brings to life again, as no other type of source can do, the activities of the business world at a time when—more than ever before or since—world-trade was concentrated in one

²⁶⁸ On the activities of the Italian houses in Antwerp, see Denucé, *Inventaire des Affaitadi* and *Italiaansche Koopmansgeslachten*.

²⁶⁹ The tax registers for 1543 and part of 1544 do not give the names of all the exporters whose merchandise was taxed 1 per cent ad valorem. The carriers, who paid the tax for the merchants, are always named. A typical entry which does not mention the name of the exporters is the following (August 12, 1543): "De Nicolò de Rossy [dell'Isola], conducteur, la somme [de] soixante livres pour avoir chargé vers Italie pour et au noms de plusieurs marchans 47 bales et une demye bale, ung tonneau conté pour une bale, faisant ensemble 48 bales de draps et carizées dont en a esté payés pour ledit droit d'ung pour cent — lx £" (Chambre des Comptes, No. 23358, fol. 6^v). In the later registers, especially Nos. 23361 and 23363 (exports from Antwerp, August 10, 1544—September 23, 1545) the names of the exporters and the destinations of the goods are almost always given, for example (August 13, 1544): "De Hans Cleynhans la somme de neuf livres quatorze solz à cause d'avoir chargé vers Italie au nom des marchans cy après nommés les marchandises que s'ensuyvent: [names of several Italian merchants and their shipments follow] ... Et pour Pierre du Molin vers Ancone six bales de carizées vallissans ensemble — CXX £ de gros" (Chambre des Comptes, No. 23361, fol. 9^v). A careful study of these later registers would furnish a more complete list of exporters toward Italy than that given by Goris (*op. cit.*, p. 272), which is based on the registers of 1543, wherein few merchants are named, and would enable one to prepare statistics on the kinds of merchandise exported and their value during a year of peace, whereas the tables given by Goris (pp. 290-94) are for the war year, February, 1543—February, 1544, during over half of which year the road to Cologne was closed, and the overland exports toward Italy were unusually low.

emporium.²⁷⁰ If the picture that the letters portray for us has much shadow as well as brightness, it seems, for that very reason, more real to us than the famous portrayal of Antwerp in all her splendor, drawn by the masterly pen of Guicciardini some twenty years later. The vividness of these descriptions of business life four hundred years ago makes the centuries seem but a very short space of time and emphasizes in a striking manner the similarities between sixteenth- and twentieth-century good times and depressions—between periods of stable money, steady prices, and optimism and periods of money devaluation, fluctuating prices, and general uncertainty.

²⁷⁰ Ehrenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

THE PALESTINE PILGRIMAGE OF HENRY THE LION

★

EINAR JORANSON

A PART from the Crusades, perhaps no twelfth-century pilgrimage to Jerusalem is of larger interest than the one undertaken by Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony and Bavaria¹—medieval Germany's most powerful vassal prince—in the year 1172.²

The character and purpose of this expedition have long been a subject of controversy and constitute still an intriguing question. Some scholars have seen in Henry's enterprise a relatively sincere expression of chivalrous piety, although they concede a likelihood that the motivation was not exclusively religious; Henry may well have been actuated, in more

¹ The hitherto most complete treatment of this pilgrimage as a whole is to be found in an article by F. Wigger written over sixty years ago ("Pilgerfahrten meklenburgischer Regenten nach dem Orient im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge. I. Die Wallfahrt des Obotritenfürsten Pribislaw und des Grafen Gunzel I. von Schwerin mit Herzog Heinrich dem Löwen," *Jahrbücher des Vereins für meklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, XL [Schwerin, 1875], 3–26). Soon after the publication of Wigger's article, Reinhold Röhricht offered a more concise study in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (II [Berlin, 1878], 109–16, 124–26). More recent are the accounts by Wilhelm von Giesebrecht (*Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, V, Part II [Leipzig, 1888], 693–703, and VI [ed. B. von Simson; Leipzig, 1895], 499–502) and Martin Philippson (*Heinrich der Löwe* [2d rev. ed.; Leipzig, 1918], 383–91, 612), and the brief sketch by A. L. Poole (*Henry the Lion* [Oxford and London, 1912], pp. 55–57). Prior to the appearance of the first edition of Philippson's work (*Geschichte Heinrichs des Löwen* [2 vols.; Leipzig, 1867]), the pilgrimage had been dealt with by Hans

[Footnote 1 continued on page 147]

² By August, 1172, Henry the Lion could have been not more than forty-three nor less than thirty-seven years old, the younger age being more probable. See A. Hofmeister, "Puer, iuvenis, senex," in *Papsttum und Kaisertum, Forschungen . . . Paul Kehr . . . dargebracht*, ed. A. Brackmann (Munich, 1926), pp. 309–12; cf. Heydel, pp. 2–3, nn. 2 and 4.

or less considerable part, by a craving for new adventure, a desire to broaden his fame, a longing to visit countries and localities associated with the Crusades.³ At least three of those who incline toward this view believe that Henry sought opportunity to measure swords with the Moslems and proposed to dispossess them of their recent conquests in the Levant.⁴ Other investigators have insisted, to the contrary, that Henry's pilgrimage was a political enterprise under a religious mask. In their opinion, the real though secret purpose of the duke in journeying to the Holy Sepulcher was to secure opportunity to conclude in person at Constantinople an alliance with the Byzantine basileus, Manuel I, Comnenus; so that his expedition amounted in effect to a hostile

Prutz (*Heinrich der Löwe* [Leipzig, 1865], pp. 265-76) and C. W. Böttiger (*Heinrich der Löwe* [Hanover, 1819], pp. 273-94); also, still earlier, by J. G. Eccard, in the *Origines Guelficae* (Vol. III [ed. C. L. Scheid, or Scheidius; Hanover, 1752], Book VII, sec. 61, pp. 73-80), and by the authors of four dissertations published between 1685 and 1724, at Helmstedt, in the former duchy of Brunswick. I have seen only one of these early dissertations, namely, that of J. F. Schmid (*Dissertatio historico-geographica exponens glor. mem. principis Henrici Leonis, ducis Bavariae et Saxoniae, iter Hierosolymitanum* [1711]), which runs to no less than eighty-six pages; for bibliographical information on the others, see Röhricht's *Deutschen im H. Lande* (cited below in this note), p. 44. Specific contributions to the study of our subject are contained in the following works: J. Heydel, *Das Itinerar Heinrichs des Löwen* (Greifswald dissertation [Hildesheim, 1929]), pp. 74-80; Editha Gronen, *Die Machtpolitik Heinrichs des Löwen* ("E. Ebering's Historische Studien," No. 139 [Berlin, 1919]), pp. 60-63, 123-26; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180)* (Paris, 1912), pp. 596 and 601; Hans von Kap-Herr, *Die abendländische Politik Kaiser Manuels* (Strassburg dissertation [Strassburg, 1881]), pp. 100-101; Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100-1291)* (Innsbruck, 1898), pp. 354-56; *idem*, *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck, 1894), pp. 43-44. For the source materials see below, pp. 148-57, and notes. A list of references to legends connected with Henry the Lion's pilgrimage is given by Röhricht in his *Beiträge* (II, 126, n. 29) and also in his *Deutschen im H. Lande* (p. 44).

I may be permitted to make acknowledgment here of generous courtesies extended to me, in connection with the preparation of this essay, by the University of Chicago libraries, Harvard University Library, the Newberry Library, and the library of the Art Institute of Chicago.

³ Böttiger, pp. 274-76; Prutz, pp. 260-61; Wigger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 4-5; Röhricht, *Beiträge*, II, 109 and 113; Giesebrecht, V, 702; Philippson, pp. 383 and 612, n. d.

⁴ Böttiger, pp. 276 and 278; Röhricht, *Beiträge*, II, pp. 113 and 124, nn. 16 and 19; Philippson, *loc. cit.*

move against Emperor Frederick I, Barbarossa, and an act of treason to the Holy Roman Empire.⁵

It seems not undesirable to try to ascertain whether one of these conflicting interpretations may be nearer to the truth than the other, or if both are in equal need of revision; and with that end in view a fresh study of the entire undertaking is offered in this essay. The order of presentation will be the following: (I) appraisal of the basic source materials; (II) investigation of the arrangements for the expedition; (III) narration of the recorded events and experiences on the journey; (IV) discussion of the motivation for the pilgrimage; and (V) summary of conclusions, with a suggestion as to their bearing on the problem of the estrangement between the Welf duke and his Hohenstaufen suzerain.⁶

I

The principal source of information on our subject is Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronicle of the Slavs*,⁷ which appeared

⁵ Kap-Herr, *loc. cit.*; Chalandon, *loc. cit.*; Gronen, *loc. cit.* Very recently, Richard Schmidt ("Heinrich der Löwe. Seine Stellung in der inneren und auswärtigen Politik Deutschlands," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLIV [1936], 267) has given countenance to this opinion.

⁶ Certain abbreviations used in subsequent reference citations in this essay may here be explained:

HZ *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich and Berlin, 1859 ff.)

MGH SS *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, ed. G. H. Pertz et al. (Berlin, 1826 ff.).

OG *Origines Guelficae*, Vol. III (see above, n. 1) and Vol. V (ed. J. H. Jung, or Jungius [Hanover, 1780]).

SSrG *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum, ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis recusi* (Hanover, 1840 ff.).

⁷ Ed. J. M. Lappenberg, in MGH SS, XXI (1869), 100 ff. Lappenberg's recension of the *Chronica Slavorum* has been published separately as a school edition by G. H. Pertz, in SSrG (1868). A German translation, originally done by J. C. M. Laurent but revised by W. Wattenbach, is included in *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, Vol. LXXI (Leipzig, 1896). Citations of Arnold's work in subsequent notes refer to the school edition unless the *Monumenta* edition is specified. It may be noted here that Johannes Mey's study of the *Chronica* (*Zur Kritik Arnolds von Lübeck* [dissertation (Leipzig, 1912)]) is almost without bearing on the matters dealt with in this essay. For other studies, see the next note.

probably not earlier than the year 1210. In trustworthiness this work is somewhat uneven, despite its author's repeatedly avowed and manifestly sincere endeavor to adhere to the truth. Arnold's credulity (by no means immoderate for his times) and fondness for anecdote led him not infrequently to relate as fact what we would identify as legend or rumor; and the difficulty he must have often experienced in obtaining accurate and sufficient information concerning events occurring beyond the limits of his Saxon homeland, probably goes far to explain why he occasionally misrenders such events or confuses their chronology. Certainly, he is in no case to be suspected of intentional deception; nor may it be denied that much of his chronicle rests on authentic data and, therefore, possesses real value. The tendency toward partisanship with which he has been charged in some instances is difficult to establish conclusively, and it would be quite fallacious to assume a partisan motivation for his work as a whole or for that fraction to which we shall devote chief attention. Our chronicler was, without question, a warm admirer of Henry the Lion, and toward Henry's sons he evinces an attitude of friendliness; yet, though his interest in the Hohenstaufen family seems less cordial, he cannot with justice be said to have treated its members unfairly.⁸

⁸ See in particular Rudolf Damus, "Die Slavenchronik Arnolds von Lübeck," in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für lübeckische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, III (1876), esp. 205-8, 237-53 (this work was also published separately, as a [Göttingen] dissertation [Lübeck, 1872]; see pp. 11-14, 43-59). Cf. W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, II (6th ed.; Berlin, 1894), 343-45; also Lappenberg's prefaces to the editions and the German translation of Arnold's *Chronica Slavorum* cited in the preceding note. The following statements by Arnold himself leave small room for doubt as to his integrity of purpose: "Veritatem historie igitur sequentes, adulationem, que plerisque scriptorum comes est, omnino dampnamus, ut timorem et gratiam fallacem excludentes libere que nobis comperta sunt prosequamur" (Prologue, p. 10); "Quod si auctori huius operis minus credi potest quam illis, immo quia vere potest, ipse cum apostolo testimonium fidelitatis in hac parte sibi perhibet: 'Que autem scribo vobis, ecce coram Deo, quia non mentior'" (Book III, chap. iii, p. 75); "Veniam legentium peto, ne quis presumptionis vel temeritatis arguere me velit, quia ista dictaverim, sciens quod multi gesta regum vel pontificum scripserint, sed, sicut ab initio dictum est, non temeritate, sed caritate ista prosecutus sum, . . .

The narrative of the pilgrimage which appears near the beginning of Arnold's work and runs to twenty octavo pages seems vivid enough to have been written by one who himself participated in the expedition.⁹ Since Arnold, however, does not expressly say or very clearly indicate that he was a participant, it has been assumed quite generally that he incorporated into his chronicle an account of the pilgrimage which had been composed in substance at least by another person, most probably Abbot Henry, of the monastery of St. Aegidius in Brunswick.¹⁰ This personage, who later became bishop of Lübeck, is known to have accompanied Henry the Lion to Palestine;¹¹ and both before and after the

Nec offendat quemquam, si secundum ordinem historie modo leta sive prospera, vel etiam ponam adversa, quia ista oportuit in noticiam venire et illa non omittere. . . . Si vero aliquid occurrerit, non ex toto suo ordine prosecutum, ipsum deputet assertori, non dictatori" (Book VII, chap. xx, pp. 294-95). In the light of Damus' careful study of the *Chronica*, B. von Simson's quite disparaging strictures on its author (in Giesebrecht, VI, 301) need some qualification. Whether Johannes Haller ("Der Sturz Heinrichs des Löwen," in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, III [reprint; Leipzig, 1911], 309-10) has correctly interpreted Arnold's version of the interview between Henry the Lion and Frederick Barbarossa in 1176, as intended "für den gestürzten Herzog Stimmung machen," seems to me an open question; for it is by no means evident that Arnold in this connection took pains to make Frederick appear "hart, ungerecht, eigensinnig." Nor am I convinced, by the argument of Damus (*loc. cit.*, pp. 245-46), that Arnold's unfavorable comment on the condition of the church in Bremen under Archbishop Hartwig II (Book VII, chap. x, p. 278) necessarily has a partisan coloring. But see below, n. 109.

⁹ See esp. Book I, chap. iii, pp. 15-18.

¹⁰ This assumption dates back at least to the eighteenth century. In the *OG* (III, 73) Arnold is credited with an exact and lengthy description of the pilgrimage, "usus sine dubio diario Henrici Abbatis S. Aegidii." See also Damus, *loc. cit.*, p. 238; Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 5; Philippson, p. 612, n. d; Lappenberg, in *MGH SS*, XXI, 102; Wattenbach, II, 344. W. A. Neumann (*Der Reliquienschatz des Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg* [Vienna, 1891], p. 27 *ad fin.*) declares, without citation of proof, that Abbot Henry "ist der Verfasser des ausführlichen Reiseberichtes, welchen Arnold von Lübeck . . . bietet." Prutz (p. 270, n. 1) and Poole (p. 56, n.) indicate that Arnold no doubt obtained his information from one or more pilgrims, though they do not specifically name Abbot Henry. Giesebrecht (VI, 500 *ad fin.*) expressed the following opinion: "Nichts deutet darauf hin, dass Arnold selbst die Fahrt mitmachte, obwohl es an sich nicht unmöglich wäre. Seine freilich nicht fehlerfreie, aber im Ganzen genaue Erzählung kann aber nicht wohl auf bloß mündlichen Mittheilungen beruhen, sondern muss eine schriftliche Grundlage haben."

¹¹ See below, nn. 18, 20, 55, 95, 114, 133, 170.

journey he appears to have been closely associated with Arnold.¹² But these two points, it will be readily admitted, constitute no proof that Abbot Henry wrote the account of the pilgrimage which forms part of Arnold's chronicle; and the only other point which has been urged in support of this assumption is that Arnold was not one of the pilgrims¹³—an opinion which rests very insecurely on the argument from silence.¹⁴

For, though it has been overlooked or ignored by most scholars, there is some evidence that Arnold joined Henry the Lion's expedition.¹⁵ If a separate author had penned that portion of the *Chronicle of the Slavs* which pertains to the pilgrimage, one would expect its Latin style to differ in some

¹² The investigations of Damus (*loc. cit.*, pp. 195–205) have shown, conclusively I think, that Lappenberg was in error when he identified the chronicler Arnold with a man of the same name who held the office of treasurer (*custos*) of the cathedral chapter at Lübeck in the period 1170–77. At the time of the pilgrimage (1172) Arnold probably was a monk, belonging to the Benedictine monastery of St. Aegidius in Brunswick, the same house of which Abbot Henry was the head (*ibid.*). Henry became bishop of Lübeck the following year (Arnold, Book I, chap. xiii, pp. 31 ff.), and in 1177 he founded in that city the (likewise Benedictine) monastery of St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist. The monks for the new foundation were drawn from St. Aegidius in Brunswick, and they included Arnold, who became the first abbot (see *Analecta Cismariensia* [ed. Karl Kohlmann], *Quellensammlung der Gesellschaft für schleswig-holstein-lauenburgische Geschichte*, IV, Heft I [Kiel, 1874], 244, 258, 260, and the references there cited; also Arnold, Book II, chap. v, pp. 40–41). After 1177, accordingly, Henry and Arnold again labored together, this time in Lübeck (cf. Book II, chap. xxi, pp. 65–66). The abbot-chronicler intimates (Book III, chap. iii, p. 72) that he sat at his bishop's side one night, shortly before the latter's death (*ca.* 1182).

¹³ See the statement of Giesebrecht quoted above, n. 10 *ad fin.*; and cf. Damus, *loc. cit.*, pp. 238–39.

¹⁴ The fact that Arnold *could* have obtained his information from others obviously does not prove that he *did* so obtain it; accordingly, the sole basis for the view that he was not a member of the pilgrim band would seem to be his omission of any clear indication to the contrary.

¹⁵ After I (independently) had arrived at the conclusion that Arnold participated in the expedition, it was a satisfaction to find that Johannes Haller (*loc. cit.*, p. 310, n.) shared this view. Haller, however, bases his opinion merely on the vividness of Arnold's recital, which, I submit, is not conclusive proof. The evidence cited in the subsequent part of this paragraph, including nn. 16–20, does, I think, establish the point.

appreciable manner from the style of the chronicle as a whole. The apparent identity of style throughout the chronicle¹⁶ and the vividness of the story of the pilgrimage,¹⁷ when considered together, strongly suggest that this story is Arnold's own narrative of what he had personally seen and heard on the journey. Then, too, there are in the narrative certain laudatory statements concerning Abbot Henry and his activities, which, we submit, can scarcely have emanated from the abbot.¹⁸ The argument from silence, moreover, works both ways; for, on the assumption that Arnold remained at home during the year 1172, it becomes rather difficult to explain why he says virtually nothing of events occurring in Germany that year.¹⁹ But it is not necessary to rely wholly on indirect evidence. A positive if rather obscure

¹⁶ The conclusion of Damus (*loc. cit.*, p. 230), that "die äussere Form, Styl und Schreibweise seiner [i.e., Arnold's] Chronik von Anfang bis zu Ende gleichmässig ihm selbst angehören," seems to me unimpeachable.

¹⁷ Cf. the passage referred to above, n. 9.

¹⁸ Arnold, Book I, chap. v, p. 20: "Et magnificatus est abbas Heinricus in conspectu regis et pontificum [i.e., the Byzantine emperor and his prelates], collaudantes doctrinam eius et fidem non modicam adhibentes verbis illius." *Ibid.*, chap. vii, p. 22: "Illuc [*sc.* Quarentenam] etiam Heinricus abbas cum difficultate magna ascendit, quia corpore exhaustus erat, celebrans ibi divina. Que etiam ad omnia illa loca sancta devotissime celebravit ob memoriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quam corporaliter ibi exhibuerat, et gloriosissime genitricis eius, cui etiam in omni peregrinatione illa cilicio indutus devotissimus extitit, in abstinentiis, in orationibus, primo semper diluculo, antequam castra moverentur, completis matutinarum vigiliis, cum pleno officio missarum ei sollempnia celebrans et hostium salutarem tam pro se quam pro omni exercitu illo peregrino incessanter offerens." It seems quite unlikely that Abbot Henry, even after he had become a bishop, would have thus sounded his own praises. Arnold here reports, in my judgment, not what someone has told him but what he has himself witnessed.

¹⁹ He mentions (Book I, chap. i, p. 12) only the birth of Henry the Lion's daughter Richenza. The perfidy of Eckbert of Wolfenbüttel, though it is recorded by Arnold in this connection, evidently took place at a later time (see K. Hampe, "Heinrichs des Löwen Sturz in politisch-historischer Beurteilung," *HZ*, CIX [1912], 61-63; Otto Haendle, *Die Dienstmänner Heinrichs des Löwen* [*Arbeiten zur deutschen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte*, herausgegeben von J. Haller, P. Heck, A. B. Schmidt, Heft VIII (Stuttgart, 1930)], pp. 42-45). We would expect at least some allusion to Frederick Barbarossa's expedition against Poland, in which a number of Saxons participated (cf. Philippson, pp. 395, 612, n. a); and to the death of Count Ludwig of Thuringia, an inveterate enemy of Henry the Lion (*ibid.*, p. 396).

intimation that our chronicler went with Henry the Lion to the Holy Land may be found in his report of a vision which came to one of the pilgrims on their journey from Constantinople to Acre: from the manner in which the vision is described we have adequate reason to infer that its recipient was none other than the chronicler himself.²⁰

Arnold did not complete the seventh (and last) book of his *Chronicle of the Slavs* before the late autumn of the year 1209.²¹ The story of the pilgrimage, which is included in Book I,²² was of course written earlier; yet, in its present form, it cannot antedate the year 1195,²³ and it may not have been

²⁰ Book I, chap. vi, p. 21: "Erat autem ibi [i.e., on shipboard] quidam bone conversationis, qui ob imminens periculum graviter anxiebatur, et inter ipsas mentis et pelagi fluctuationes repente sompno depressus vidit astantem sibi virginem pulcherrimam, qui dixit ad eum: 'Times maris periculum?' Et ille: 'Domna,' inquit, 'clarissima, tenent nos angustie, et nisi Deus celi respexerit nos, quantocius peribimus.' Et illa: 'Confide,' inquit, 'quia non peribitis, sed propter orationes cuiusdam, qui in hac navi me invocare non cessat, ab instanti periculo liberi eritis.' Quod de quo dictum fuerit, quamvis expressum non sit, tamen qui viderit, de Heinricho abbate dictum sibi affirmabat, quia qui in Spiritu Dei videt, pauca quidem audit, sed plura intelligit." It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the words, "quidam bone conversationis," in the opening sentence of this passage, refer to our chronicler. Arnold describes in detail the circumstances of the vision and purports to quote the conversation verbatim; yet, he does not indicate that the vision was reported to anyone. The "quidam bone conversationis" is only said to have affirmed to *himself* that the words of the Virgin referred to Abbot Henry. From these premises it would appear to be a logical inference that the recipient of the vision was Arnold and that his monkish modesty would not permit him to announce this fact outright. In the year 1182, Arnold—then abbot of the monastery of St. Mary and St. John the Evangelist in Lübeck (cf. above, n. 12)—again was favored with a vision, and again he evinces reluctance to claim it as his own. All he can bring himself to say is, "visum fuit abbati [not *mihi* or *nobis*] per sompnum" (Book III, chap. iii, p. 74). On Arnold's tendency to be reticent concerning himself, see Damus, *loc. cit.*, pp. 195 and 203.

²¹ Near the end of this book (chap. xix, pp. 293-94) there is an account of the imperial coronation of Otto IV in Rome, which took place on October 4, 1209 (*Gebhardt's Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte* [7th ed., by Robert Holtzmann; Stuttgart, Berlin, and Leipzig, 1930], I, 363). Cf. Damus, *loc. cit.*, p. 210.

²² Chaps. i-xii, pp. 11-31.

²³ Henry the Lion died on August 6, 1195 (Heydel, p. 107; Philippson, p. 555). Arnold, at the conclusion of his account of the pilgrimage (Book I, chap. xiii, p. 31), refers to Henry as a prince whose work, more particularly the Church of St. Blasius in Brunswick, had been left unfinished; thus clearly implying that Henry was dead at the time of writing. Damus (*loc. cit.*, pp. 237 and 239) exaggerates, it seems to me,

prepared until after 1204.²⁴ Accordingly, a space of not less than twenty-three years,²⁵ possibly one of thirty or even thirty-five years,²⁶ intervened between the expedition itself and the composition of Arnold's account thereof as we have it.²⁷ The detail in which the author recounts the events is sufficient proof that he did not depend wholly on memory. It must be supposed, therefore, that his recital rests on memoranda made during or shortly after the pilgrimage. Whether Arnold depended exclusively on notes which he himself had indited, we cannot determine; it is possible that other pilgrims, including Abbot Henry, also kept memoranda, and that these became accessible to our chronicler.²⁸ But, in any case, we have no reason to doubt that Arnold's narrative,

the importance of Arnold's reference to the punishment of Eckbert of Wolfenbüttel for establishing the date when the narrative of the pilgrimage was given the form it now has.

²⁴ In the Prologue (p. 9) Arnold dedicates his *Chronica* to Bishop Philip of Ratzeburg, who was elected to this see in 1204 (see Lappenberg, in *MGH SS*, XXI, 102; also Damus, *loc. cit.*, p. 210). It should be recognized that Arnold might well have written Book I, and even the entire chronicle, before he penned the Prologue.

²⁵ From 1172 to 1195.

²⁶ It is not inconceivable that Arnold could have written the final draft of his chronicle within a period of three years, say, from 1207 to 1210. He died between 1211 and 1214 (Damus, *loc. cit.*, p. 205 and n. 57; Wattenbach, II, 344. See also *Analecta Cismariensia*, *loc. cit.* [above, n. 12], pp. 258 and 260).

²⁷ Damus (*loc. cit.*, p. 239) supposes that "die Geschichte dieses Zuges . . . jedenfalls bei Lebzeiten des Bischofs Heinrich [i.e., before 1182; see above, n. 12 *ad fin.*], wahrscheinlich bald nach der Rückkehr im Jahre 1173, aufgezeichnet wurde"; and he adds that "Arnold selbst mag schon damals, als er noch in Braunschweig mit dem Abte Heinrich lebte, also 1173-1177, die Aufzeichnung vorgenommen haben, vielleicht im Anschluss an die Reliquienschenkung, die Herzog Heinrich den Braunschweiger Kirchen machte. . . ." If by "die Geschichte dieses Zuges" is meant the narrative of the pilgrimage as it appears in the *Chronica*, Damus would appear to be in error concerning the date of composition (cf. above, n. 23). It may also be observed that by the period 1173-77 Abbot Henry had become bishop of Lübeck and no longer lived with Arnold in Brunswick (cf. above, n. 12). That Henry the Lion's donation of relics to the Brunswick churches furnished the occasion for the composition of the record of the pilgrimage is a quite unnecessary assumption.

²⁸ Cf. above, n. 10.

tardily published though it was, is tantamount to a firsthand account.

The pilgrimage has been recorded in at least ten other contemporary narrative sources (annals and chronicles).²⁹ Three of these were composed in Saxony³⁰ and two in Austria,³¹ the other five in Swabia,³² Cologne,³³ Holland,³⁴ Normandy,³⁵ and Constantinople,³⁶ respectively. The passages in these sources which pertain to the pilgrimage vary in

²⁹ According to Röhricht (*Gesch. d. Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 354, n. 3; cf. his *Beiträge*, II, 125, n. 22), there is a reference to the pilgrimage of Henry the Lion in William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (Book XX, chap. xxv [not chap. xxvii, as Röhricht has it], in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, I, 988–89), William having in part confused Duke Hugh III of Burgundy with Henry, duke of Bavaria and Saxony. Though I find no sufficient warrant for Röhricht's assumption, it does seem strange that Henry the Lion's visit to Palestine should be passed over in silence by William of Tyre.

³⁰ *Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses, Continuatio annorum 1140–1181*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS*, XVI (1859), 260, *sub anno* 1171; *Annales Palidenses, auctore Theodoro monacho*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *ibid.*, p. 94, *sub anno* 1172; *Annales Stederburgenses*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *ibid.*, p. 210, *sub anno* 1171. See also Wattenbach, II, 354, 437–38, 337, respectively.

³¹ *Annales Mellicenses, Continuatio Cremifanensis*, ed. W. Wattenbach, *MGH SS*, IX (1851), 546, *sub anno* 1172; *Annales Admuntenses, Continuatio Admuntensis*, ed. W. Wattenbach, *ibid.*, p. 584, *sub anno* 1172, Codd. A and B. See also Wattenbach, *Geschichtsquellen*, II, 317, 307.

³² *Annales Weingartenses Welfici*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS*, XVII (1861), 309, *sub anno* 1172. See also Wattenbach, II, 393 and n. 6.

³³ *Chronica regia Coloniensis* (formerly designated *Annales Colonienses maximi*), ed. G. Waitz (*SSrG* [Hanover, 1880]), pp. 123–24, *sub anno* 1173, Recensions I and II. See also *ibid.*, Introduction, pp. x–xi; and cf. Wattenbach, II, 444.

³⁴ *Annales Egmundani*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS*, XVI (1859), 467, *sub anno* 1172. See also Wattenbach, II, 429.

³⁵ Robert of Torigni (sometimes called Robertus de Monte because he was abbot of the monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel), *Cronica*, ed. Richard Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.*, IV ("Rolls Series," No. 82 [London, 1889]), 253, *sub anno* 1172; also ed. Léopold Delisle, *Chronique de Robert de Torigni* (Rouen, 1873), II, 31–32. For the date of this chronicle, see Howlett's ed., Preface, p. xlvii; also Delisle's ed., Vol. I, Preface, p. iii, and Vol. II, Preface, p. xiii. Subsequent citations of Robert's *Cronica* in this essay refer to the Howlett edition.

³⁶ John Cinnamus, *Ἐπιτομή (Epitome)*, Book VI, chap. xi, ed. A. Meineke, in *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1836), p. 286. See also Karl Krumpholtz, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur, in Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (2d ed.; Munich, 1897), pp. 279–81.

length from sixty-four words³⁷ to four words.³⁸ Written before Arnold of Lübeck had published his *Chronicle of the Slavs*,³⁹ the texts in question obviously are independent of that work; and, with a single possible exception,⁴⁰ they seem to be independent of one another. Their chief value lies in the confirmation they give to the general trustworthiness of Arnold's account; the supplementary or diverging information they yield is relatively slight and appears to be, in part, of doubtful authenticity.⁴¹

We have, in addition, some documentary evidence. Henry the Lion had occasion to issue at least two diplomas while his pilgrimage was in progress, one at Ratisbon⁴² and another at Jerusalem.⁴³ These documents identify several of the men who accompanied the duke to Palestine; and they definitely establish the year 1172 as the date of his expedition, a point

³⁷ *Chronica regia Coloniensis* (see above, n. 33).

³⁸ *Annales Pegavienses et Bosovienses* (see above, n. 30): "Dux Heinricus transit mare."

³⁹ See the references to Wattenbach, Howlett, Delisle, and Krumbacher, cited above, nn. 30-36; also see above, nn. 21, 24, 26.

⁴⁰ The slight verbal similarity of the following two statements does not prove, in my judgment, that one is derived from the other. *Annales Palidenses* (see above, n. 30): "Heinricus dux perrexit Ierosolimam, multo comitatu per Greciam agens iter." Robert of Torigni (see above, n. 35): "Henricus dux Saxonum et Baiaorum, gener Henrici rex Anglorum, perrexit Jerusalem cum magno comitatu militum," etc.

⁴¹ Additional information is supplied in the *Annales Stederburgenses*, the *Annales Mellicenses*, *Continuatio Cremifanensis*, the *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, the *Cronica* of Robert of Torigni, and the *Epitome* of Cinnamus (see above, nn. 30, 31, 33, 35, 36); but the validity of certain statements in the last three of these sources is open to question (see below, nn. 142, 190, p. 150, p. 186 and nn. 134, 135).

⁴² This diploma is printed in *OG*, Vol. III, Book VII, Probationes, No. LXV, pp. 515-16; also in *Monumenta Boica*, Vol. III (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1764), No. XV, pp. 547-48. The original apparently is no longer extant (see Heydel, p. 137, No. 61). The diploma closes with the following words: "Data Ratispone Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCLXXII. Gloriosissimi autem Henrici Ducis Bauvarie et Saxonie Anno peregrinationis primo. Baldwinus Notarius Domini Ducis assignavit." Baldwin had been archbishop of Bremen since 1169 (Heydel, p. 152).

⁴³ A revised edition of the text of the Jerusalem diploma appears in the Appendix, at the end of this essay (pp. 220-22).

on which the narrative sources are not in agreement.⁴⁴ Besides, the Jerusalem diploma furnishes interesting details concerning a donation made by Henry to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

The posterior records of this enterprise, written in the thirteenth century and after, need not detain us.⁴⁵ In the main, they possess only historiographical interest, and yield no new information.

II

The work of arranging for the pilgrimage probably required several months and, hence, could hardly have begun

⁴⁴ Even Arnold does not specifically say that the pilgrimage took place in 1172, although this fact may be deduced from his references to events which are known to have occurred in that year. Philippson (p. 612, n. d) has furnished a convincing explanation of the reasons for the discrepant chronology in the narrative sources. The several dates given in them are indicated above, nn. 30-36, and in n. 45.

⁴⁵ *Annales Stadenses*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, MGH SS, XVI (1859), 347, *sub anno* 1172 (written after 1240; cf. Wattenbach, II, 439 ff.); *Hermannii Alahensis annales*, ed. P. Jaffé, *ibid.*, XVII (1861), 384, *sub anno* 1172 (written ca. 1251-60; cf. Wattenbach, II, 452, n. 1); *Chronica principum Saxoniae*, ed. O. Holder Egger, *ibid.*, XXV (1880), 475, *sub anno* 1171 (written ca. 1281-82; see *ibid.*, p. 470). Several longer narratives of the pilgrimage, derived either directly or indirectly from Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum* but with certain additions and modifications, were produced in Saxony in the later thirteenth and in the fourteenth century. Mention may be made of those which appear in the following works: the anonymous *Historia de duce Hinrico* (see Karl Kohlmann [ed.], *Analecta Cismariensia*, loc. cit. [above, n. 12], pp. 241 ff.), written after 1283 (*ibid.*, pp. 234 ff.); the *Chronik von 1105-1276* written by J. Rode (Johannes Ruffus) of Lübeck in the 1340's (ed. Karl Koppmann [under the erroneous title *Detmar-Chronik*], in *Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, XIX [Leipzig, 1884]; see pp. 32-35); and the *Chronik* of Detmar—a Franciscan friar in Lübeck—written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century (ed. Karl Koppmann, *ibid.*; see pp. 254-55 and cf. p. 130). For critical comment on these accounts and some others which are kin to them, see Koppmann, *ibid.*, XXVI (Leipzig, 1899), pp. x ff. and, esp., pp. xviii ff. About the year 1418, a Westphalian named Gobelin (Gobelinus Persona) included a report of Henry the Lion's Palestinian expedition and also of certain activities of Frederick Barbarossa in Saxony during Henry's absence, in his *Cosmodrium*, or *Chronicon universale* (ed. H. Meibom [Meibomius], *Rerum Germanicarum*, I [Helmstedt, 1688], 271, *sub anno* 1173). Gobelin obviously derived his information concerning the pilgrimage from the *Chronica regia Coloniensis* (see above, n. 33). Where he obtained the rest is uncertain (for discussion of this point, see Gronen, p. 63, n. 60, and the references there cited; also, F. Güterbock, *Die Gelnhäuser Urkunde und der Prozess Heinrichs des Löwen* (*Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens*, XXXII [Hildesheim and Leipzig: Historische Verein für Niedersachsen, 1920], 160-62 and notes).

later than the autumn of 1171.⁴⁶ Among the duke's first measures was the appointment of trustworthy men to watch over his interests during the period of more than one year that he expected to be away.⁴⁷ Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg, a former opponent now reconciled, he intrusted with the guardianship of his land.⁴⁸ The care of his family and management of his household he confided to Eckbert of Wolfenbüttel, a distinguished and hitherto faithful *ministerialis*. Eckbert, along with another *ministerialis* named Henry of Luneburg, was charged in particular with service

⁴⁶ It is impossible to determine exactly when Henry the Lion resolved to journey to Jerusalem. Probably it was not until after June 24, 1170, at which time Emperor Frederick brought about a complete pacification of Saxony by reconciling its duke with his remaining opponents, more particularly Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg and his supporters (see Heydel, pp. 70 and 71 and notes; cf. Philippson, pp. 378 and 611, n. g; also Gronen, pp. 60-61); and it may not have been until after Henry the Lion had renewed friendly relations with King Waldemar of Denmark, on June 24, 1171 (Heydel, p. 73 and n. 416; cf. Philippson, p. 383). There is reason to believe (see Damus, *loc. cit.*, p. 237 and n. 29) that the following passage in Arnold's *Chronica* (Book I, chap. i, p. 11) refers to the year 1171: "et sopita sunt bella civilia, mediante maiestate imperatoria, que erant inter ipsum [*sc.* Henricum ducem] et principes orientales. Pribislavus vero . . . ex inimico factus est duci amicissimus. . . . Dux itaque tanta potitus quiete tantisque fluctuationum emensis periculis, tanquam portum salutis commodum duxit, pro peccatis suis sanctum visere sepulcrum," etc. The extensiveness of Henry's preparations (see below in the text) would seem to presuppose that they were already under way by September or October of 1171 (cf. Heydel, p. 74). See also below, n. 48.

⁴⁷ That Henry expected to be away more than one year is indicated by the words, "Anno peregrinationis primo," in the diploma cited above, n. 42.

⁴⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Ordinatis igitur rebus suis, [dux] de profectione Ierosolimitana artius cogitare cepit, et terre sue tutelam Wichmanno archiepiscopo Magdeburgensi [*cf.* above, n. 46 *ad init.*] consignans," etc. The word *artius* suggests that Henry had had the pilgrimage in mind for some time before he appointed Wichmann to govern during his absence. Unfortunately, we do not know the date of Wichmann's appointment. The view of Philippson (p. 384), W. Hoppe-Berlin ("Erzbischof Wichmann von Magdeburg," in *Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, XLIII [1908], 207 and n. 35), and others, that Wichmann was to govern in Saxony only and not in Bavaria, is probably correct, though I am not aware of any specific evidence on this point. Cf. the thirteenth-century *Chronica principum Saxonie* (*loc. cit.*, [above, n. 45]): "Anno Domini 1171. Henricus Leo terram suam Wichmanno Magdeburgensi archiepiscopo committens, ad Terram Sanctam per terram peregre est profectus," etc.

of the duke's wife, Mathilda, eldest daughter of King Henry II of England.⁴⁹

Another preparatory measure consisted in recruiting men for the expedition. Participation in the pilgrimage probably was not, save in some instances, purely a matter of free choice. Henry the Lion would hardly have risked the danger of allowing potential mischief-makers to remain at home. On the other hand, he may well have desired to obtain a retinue whose size and stateliness would manifest en route his princely prestige. Whether persons not recruited might of their own accord join the pilgrim troop is difficult to ascertain. Our inconclusive evidence on this point would indicate that, at all events, most of the men who undertook the journey did so at the persuasion or the command of the duke.⁵⁰ Yet, considering the extent to which Palestine pilgrimages were in vogue at the time,⁵¹ it seems not unlikely that many

⁴⁹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 11-12: "Eckberto de Vulfelesbotele, quem constituit dux super omnem familiam suam, maxime tamen deputatus est in ministerium domne ducisse Mechtildis, . . . filie regis Anglorum. . . . Manebat autem [ducissa] in Brunesswich omni tempore quo dux peregrinatus est, quia tunc pregnans erat, ediditque filiam nomine Rikenzam dictam. . . . Ministrabant ei [sc. Mechtildi] Heinrichus de Luneburg et Eckbertus memoratus, eo quod ipse fidelis et inclitus haberetur in omni domo ducis. Sed res cesserunt aliter de eo. Ipse enim dedit maculam in gloriam suam et notam perfidie incurrit. Unde graviter mulctatus est." On the question of Eckbert's perfidy cf. the position of Haller (*loc. cit.*, pp. 329 ff.) with the positions of Hampe and Haendle (references cited above, n. 19). Henry's marriage to Mathilda, and her personality, influence, etc., are dealt with by Philippon, pp. 313-14, 353-54, 383.

⁵⁰ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 11: "[Dux] nobiliores terre itineris sui socios fecit, . . . et alios quam plures, tam de viris suis liberis, quam de ministerialibus." *Ibid.*, chap. ii, p. 12: "Quorum [the reference is to the *optimates* of Bavaria] etiam nobiliores peregrinationi sue [dux] sociavit," etc. In the case of the bishop of Worms (see below, n. 89) there had been no solicitation by Henry the Lion; hence Arnold says (*loc. cit.*, p. 13): "domnus Wormaciensis huic itineri se sociavit."

⁵¹ See Röhrich, *Deutschen im H. Lande*, esp. pp. 45, 48-51; *idem*, *Beiträge*, II 321-25. The German pilgrim Theoderich (*Libellus de locis sanctis*, ed. Titus Tobler [St. Gall and Paris, 1865])—who, I believe, visited Palestine in 1173 or 1174 (see below, n. 154 *ad fin.*) rather than in 1172, as Tobler thought (see *loc. cit.*, pp. 165-71, where the death of King Amalric I of Jerusalem is erroneously dated 1173 instead of 1174 [cf. Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerusalem*, p. 359])—estimates (chap. xxx, *loc. cit.*, p. 73; cf. chap. xl, p. 91) the number of pilgrims in Jerusalem when he was there at over sixty thousand; and William of Tyre informs us (see below, n. 77) that in 1182 a single ship carried as many as fifteen hundred pilgrims.

of the duke's companions had personal desire to journey to Jerusalem; and the possibility remains that some of these were under no obligation to go, save perhaps an obligation imposed by conscience.⁵²

The larger part of his following Henry undoubtedly drew from Saxony. Our sources give the names of no less than fourteen Saxons of rank or prominence who accompanied him to the Holy Land: Archbishop Baldwin of Bremen, court notary to the duke;⁵³ Bishop Conrad of Lübeck;⁵⁴ Abbot Henry of Brunswick;⁵⁵ Abbot Bertold of Luneburg;⁵⁶ Pribislav, kinglet of the Obotrites;⁵⁷ Count Gunzelin of Schwerin;⁵⁸

⁵² On the matters dealt with in this paragraph cf. Böttiger, p. 278.

⁵³ Since Arnold's list (Book I, chap. i, p. 11) of the Saxon notables who accompanied Henry the Lion is by no means exhaustive—it omits, among others, the counts named below, n. 60—his failure to mention Archbishop Baldwin obviously does not prove that this prelate remained at home. Arnold, moreover, in another place (Book II, chap. viii, p. 45) represents him as one "qui multum neglexit ecclesiam suam, de cuius conversatione melius est silere quam loqui." The diploma signed by Baldwin at Ratisbon in 1172 (see above, n. 42) is evidence that he was with Henry on the first stage of the pilgrimage, and we have no reason to assume that he did not journey on to Jerusalem. It may be noted, also, that according to the *Annales Stederburgenses* (see below, n. 69) the duke's following included more than one bishop. For a characterization of Baldwin see G. Dehio, *Geschichte des Erzbisthums Hamburg-Bremen*, II (Berlin, 1877), 90-91; cf. J. Harttung, "Das Erzbisthum Bremen und Heinrich der Löwe," *HZ*, XXXIV (1875), 338-43.

⁵⁴ Arnold, Book I, chap. i, p. 11. Bishop Conrad died in Palestine (see below, n. 172).

⁵⁵ Arnold, *loc. cit.* See also above, pp. 150-51 and nn. 10 and 12.

⁵⁶ Arnold, *loc. cit.* Abbot Bertold also died in Palestine (see below, n. 174).

⁵⁷ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Pribislavum regulum Obotritorum." Since 1166, Henry the Lion had been on friendly terms with this formerly very bitter enemy of his (see Philippson, pp. 340-41, 350, 355, 382; also Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 4). Wigger suggests (*ibid.*, pp. 5-6) that though Pribislav could hardly have declined an invitation from Henry to join the pilgrimage, yet, as a sincere convert to Christianity, he may have had a genuine desire to visit the holy places in Palestine. Philippson (p. 383, last line) believes that Henry took Pribislav with him as a hostage. In fact, there is no testimony to prove or disprove either of these views. The only reference to Pribislav in connection with the pilgrimage is the one cited at the beginning of this note.

⁵⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Gunzelinum comitem de Zwerin." Gunzelin of Hagen had been count of Schwerin since 1160 (Philippson, pp. 251 [n. *] and 255). He was one of Henry the Lion's best warriors and most loyal adherents. Arnold mentions him several times in his account of the pilgrimage (see below, nn. 98, 115, 172), and he is also named as a witness in the diploma issued by Henry in Jerusalem (see below, Appendix).

Count Siegfried of Blankenburg;⁵⁹ Count Siegebodo of Scartfeld; Count Helger of Hohenstein; Count Rudolph of Woltingerode; Count Bernard of Ratzeburg;⁶⁰ the duke's faithful seneschal, Jordan;⁶¹ Henry, his marshal;⁶² and Jusarius, brother of Jordan and cupbearer to the duke.⁶³ Though evidence is lacking on the point, it may well be that each of these personages⁶⁴ brought with him some attendants. The knights in Henry's retinue are said, by the contemporary chronicler of Cologne, to have numbered nearly five hundred;⁶⁵ and we shall hardly err in assuming that most were Saxons. But the Saxon *virī liberi* not of knightly rank and the Saxon *ministeriales*, who were summoned to go with the duke,⁶⁶ together

⁵⁹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Syfridum comitem de Blanckeneburg."

⁶⁰ Counts Siegebodo, Helger, Rudolph, and Bernard are named as witnesses in the Jerusalem diploma (see below, Appendix).

⁶¹ Arnold, Book I, chap. iii, p. 15: "Iordanis dapifer." This interesting person, whose full name was Jordan of Blankenburg, is also named as a witness in the Jerusalem diploma (see below, Appendix). For a summary of what is known about him, see Haller, *loc. cit.*, p. 315; cf. Hampe, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69-70; Haendle, pp. 4-8.

⁶² Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 17: "Heinricus marscalcus." See Haendle, p. 36.

⁶³ Jusarius is named as a witness at the end of the Jerusalem diploma (see below, Appendix). He was a younger brother of Jordan (Haendle, pp. 4 and 8; Haller, *loc. cit.*, p. 315, n. 8).

⁶⁴ Röhrich (*Deutschen im H. Lande*, p. 43) includes yet another Saxon noble, Hoyer of Mansfeld, citing as his authority Cyriacus Spangenberg's *Mansfeldischer Chronica* (p. 281). In the revised edition of this work (*Sächssische Chronica* [Frankfurt-am-Main, 1585], p. 407), Spangenberg again names Hoyer of Mansfeld as one of Henry the Lion's traveling companions but supplies no documentation.

⁶⁵ Though Arnold refers to the *milites* in Henry's following several times (Book I, chap. iii, p. 17; chap. v, p. 21; chap. ix, p. 24), he does not give their total number. *Chron. reg. Colon.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 123: "cum 500 fere militibus." Cf. Robert of Torigni, *loc. cit.*: "cum magno comitatu militum"; *Ann. Egmondani*, *loc. cit.*: "multis comitatus militibus et ministris."

⁶⁶ See above, n. 50 *ad init.*; also n. 65 *ad fin.* I take it that the *virī liberi*, whom Arnold mentions before the *ministeriales*, included *freie Herren* and *Schöffenbarreien* (see A. Meister, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte von den Anfängen bis ins 15. Jahrhundert* [Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft, ed. A. Meister, II. Reihe, Abteilung 3 (3d ed.; Leipzig and Berlin, 1922)], pp. 127, 130-32; also, *Gebhardt's Handbuch d. deutschen Geschichte*, pp. 392-94, and the references there cited), some of whom had attained knightly rank while others had not. Probably the *ministeriales* were more numerous than the *virī liberi* (cf. below, n. 68). It may be presumed that

probably formed an even larger group than the knights.⁶⁷ Arnold of Lübeck declares, with some emphasis, that the only major *ministerialis* who remained at home was (the previously mentioned) Eckbert of Wolfenbüttel.⁶⁸ Least numerous in this company of pilgrims seem to have been the ecclesiastics; they included, among some others perhaps, the two bishops and the two abbots already noted, also several Saxon provosts, and, as we have seen, the chronicler Arnold, who at this time appears to have been a monk attached to the monastery of St. Aegidius in Brunswick.⁶⁹

In addition, Henry the Lion took with him a considerable body of *servi*, the larger part presumably from Saxony, though some may have been mustered in Bavaria. It is impossible to agree that these *servi* were squires, i.e., young nobles serving as military attendants on the knights. They seem rather to have been men of servile or semiservile status, charged principally with the care of the horses, and perhaps also with transport of the baggage. The *servi* may hardly be reckoned as pilgrims, for they appear not to have accom-

most if not all of the *ministeriales* who accompanied the duke were Saxons, since he had relatively few *ministeriales* in Bavaria (see Haendle, p. 54). We evidently have no satisfactory basis for an estimate of the total number of Henry the Lion's *ministeriales* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 75).

⁶⁷ If the duke's following included approximately twelve hundred "men drawing the sword" (see below, nn. 74 and 75), and if less than five hundred of these were *milites* (see above, n. 65), then, even with allowance made for some forty or fifty *nobiliiores* among the swordsmen, it would follow that the *virī liberi* without knightly rank and the *ministeriales* numbered together well above six hundred and fifty.

⁶⁸ Book I, chap. i, p. 11: "Et non remansit quisquam maiorum, excepto Eckberto de Vulfelesbotele," etc. It seems clear from the context that Arnold is here referring to the *maiores* among Henry's *ministeriales* in Saxony. In the German translation of Arnold's chronicle (p. 6), *maiorum* is rendered *angesehenen Leuten*.

⁶⁹ To the documentation already supplied (above, nn. 12, 15, 53-56) should be added the *Annales Stederburgenses* (*loc. cit.*): "cum episcopis, abbatibus, praepositis et aliis multis baronibus." The author of these annals, Gerhard of Steterburg, was himself a *praepositus* and a close friend of Henry the Lion (Wattenbach, II, 337). Though sometimes Gerhard may have "entstellt die Begebenheiten" (*ibid.*), I see no reason to assume that he has done so in this instance, despite the fact that he mistakenly reports the pilgrimage *sub anno* 1171 (cf. Philippson, p. 612, n. d).

panied the expedition beyond Constantinople. Their number is nowhere indicated; many *servi* were needed, no doubt, to facilitate travel for so large and distinguished a company of pilgrims.⁷⁰

It is recorded that Henry the Lion also caused the more eminent nobles of Bavaria to join the pilgrimage.⁷¹ These members of the troop are not, as individuals, easily identified.⁷² All that can be said with any degree of certitude is that

⁷⁰ Arnold twice refers to the *servi* (see below, nn. 90 and 114) but gives no information as to their *Heimat*. Lappenberg's identification of these persons, as "famuli, armigeri, German. *Knappen*" (see the school ed. of Arnold's *Chronica*, p. 17, n. 1; also *MGH SS*, XXI, 118, n. 39), is disproved by Arnold himself; for in the following passage (Book IV, chap. viii, p. 131), which forms part of his account of Frederick Barbarossa's crusade in 1189, he clearly distinguishes *armigeri* and *servi*: "domnus inperator . . . sexaginta iuvenes nobiles, qui armigeri nuncupantur, ad militarem habitum et cultum militie transtulit. Ubi etiam sedens pro tribunali iudicia sua exercuit, ibique duo mercatorum capite truncati sunt et quatuor servis manus amputate, quia pacem iuratam infregerant. Eadem die quingenti servi pabularii . . . ab hominibus illius regionis . . . interfecti sunt." See also below, pp. 187, 204.

⁷¹ See above, n. 50, second citation.

⁷² Arnold (Book I, chap. ii, p. 12) specifies as follows: "marchionem videlicet Frithericum de Sudbach et marchionem de Stire"; and the annalist of Kremsmünster (*Ann. Mellic., Cont. Cremif., loc. cit.* [above, n. 31]) writes: "Heinricus dux Bawariae et duo palatini Ierusalem tendunt." Unfortunately, we seem to have no means of establishing who the "duo palatini" were. Of three counts palatine in Bavaria at the time, namely, the Wittelsbach brothers Otto the Elder (IV), Frederick, and Otto the Younger (V) (see the *Testamentum Friderici palatini*, in F. H. Graf Hundt, ed., "Die Urkunden des Klosters Indersdorf," No. 18, *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte*, XXIV [Munich, 1863], 10-13; cf. *ibid.*, XXV, No. 2307, p. 370; also, Hundt's preface, *ibid.*, p. v, n. 3. There is an older edition of this testament in "Monumenta Undersdorfensia," No. VI, *Monumenta Boica*, X [Munich, 1768], 239-45), the first two, i.e., Otto the Elder and Frederick, are named in diplomas unquestionably issued in the year 1171 (see *Urkundenbuch des Herzogthums Steiermark*, ed. J. Zahn, I, [Graz, 1875], No. 538, pp. 497-98; also, *Meklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, I [Schwerin: Verein für meklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde, 1863], No. 101, p. 101; cf. the diploma of doubtful date, *ibid.*, No. 113, p. 111). But, as Giesebrecht points out (VI, 500), there were, in addition to the Wittelsbach brothers, other counts palatine, e.g., Conrad, count palatine of the Rhine; so that the "duo palatini" mentioned by the annalist of Kremsmünster need not necessarily be Bavarians. The possibility that the annalist erred in writing *duo* must also be reckoned with; for in the testament issued ca. 1170-71 by Frederick of Wittelsbach (*loc. cit.*; cf. Röhrich, *Deutschen im H. Lande*, p. 43), the latter refers to himself as "pergens Jerosolimam secundo ad visitandum Domini sepulcrum," and intrusts certain estates to the care of his brothers, Otto the Elder and Otto the Younger, during his absence. Giesebrecht was of the opinion that this testament definitely established the partici-

at least two, and probably several more, Bavarians of rank accompanied the duke to Palestine.⁷³ It may perhaps be assumed, as was done in the case of the Saxons, that the Bavarian nobles did not travel without attendants.

The total number of pilgrims whom Henry eventually brought together can be, at best, only roughly estimated. Arnold of Lübeck reports that at a certain bivouac on the

pation of Frederick of Wittelsbach in Henry the Lion's expedition; and, like most scholars, he inclined to the view (apparently first expressed by Karl T. Gemeiner, in his *Geschichte des Herzogtums Bayern unter Kaiser Friedrich des Ersten Regierung* [Nuremberg, 1790], pp. 256-57, n. 812; it has often, but erroneously, been accredited to Adolf Cohn, who, in a scathing review of Prutz's biography of Henry the Lion [see *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1866), I, 608-9], merely indorsed the opinion of Gemeiner), that, since no margrave of either Sudbach or Sulzbach ever existed, Arnold's "marchionem . . . Frithericum de Sudbach" perhaps is an error for the count palatine Frederick of Wittelsbach. That this is possible may be admitted; but it never, as far as I know, has been proved. Nor is there a single word in the mentioned testament of Frederick of Wittelsbach which connects his second journey to Jerusalem with the expedition of Henry the Lion. This testament, furthermore, if scholars have dated it correctly (see above in this note), makes improbable the supposition of Lappenberg (see the school ed. of Arnold, p. 12, n. 6—where Lappenberg mistakenly ascribes this supposition to Cohn, *loc. cit.*, p. 609), Röhricht (see the next note), and others, that Otto the Elder of Wittelsbach journeyed with Henry the Lion to Palestine—as Giesebrecht (*loc. cit.*) failed not to observe. Who it is that Arnold designates as "marchionem de Stire," remains likewise an open question; for Ottocar, margrave of Styria in 1172—some refer to him as Ottocar IV, others as Ottocar VIII—was at the time only eight years old, having been born August 19, 1163 (see *Ann. Admunt., Cont. Admunt., sub anno 1163, loc. cit.* [above, n. 31], p. 583; cf. Hans Pirchegger, *Geschichte der Steiermark* [Oncken's *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*, Abteilung III, ed. A. Tille (Gotha, 1920)], p. 433; also Albert von Muchar, *Geschichte des Herzogtums Steiermark*, IV [Graz, 1848], 446, n. 2); and a diploma issued by Ottocar on May 16, 1172 at Graz (see *Urkd. d. Herzogtums Steiermark, loc. cit.*, No. 546, pp. 513-14) definitely proves that he remained at home this year. Gemeiner's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 257), that Ottocar accompanied Henry the Lion "so weit sein Gebiet sich erstreckte," is wholly gratuitous.

⁷³ This view is based on the testimony of Arnold quoted at the beginning of the preceding note. Since Arnold does not give the names of all the Saxon *nobiliores* who accompanied the duke (cf. above, n. 53), it may well be that he has omitted several of the Bavarians. Röhricht (*Deutschen im H. Lande*, p. 43; cf. his *Beiträge*, II, 109) catalogues, in addition to Otto the Elder and Frederick of Wittelsbach and Ottocar of Styria, the following Bavarians as actual or alleged companions of Henry the Lion on his pilgrimage: Count Berthold of Andechs; Henry of Staufen (Stouphe); Eberhard of Frichendorf; Count Siboto of Falkenstein; Hildebold and Conrad of Schwangau; Gebezo of Ravensberg and Peissenberg; Burchard (for Bernard) of Weilheim; Richer of Hoheneck. The evidence cited in the case of the first three is Henry the Lion's Ratisbon diploma of 1172 (see above, n. 42), which contains the following statement: "Qui autem huius dispensationis ordini [a donation

outward journey, about midway between Vienna and Constantinople, the "men drawing the sword" numbered twelve hundred.⁷⁴ If this report is approximately correct, as it may well be, the entire group of travelers accompanying Henry the Lion at the time⁷⁵—including the ecclesiastics and the *servi*, neither of whom were "men drawing the sword"—must have totaled some fifteen hundred men.⁷⁶ It is fairly certain

to the Church of St. Zeno, near Reichenhall] intererant, eorum nomina hec sunt, Comes Pertoldus de Andehse, Otto Maior Palatinus de Witolinespach, Heinricus de Stouphe, Eberhardus de Frichindorf." I cannot agree with Röhricht that these men "unterzeichnen als *Begleiter* [italics mine] und Zeugen"; for it would be fallacious to assume that only participants in the pilgrimage could have functioned as witnesses on this occasion, especially since Otto of Wittelsbach is named as one of the witnesses (cf. the preceding note). The grounds on which Count Siboto of Falkenstein was included in the list do not appear; he is perhaps confused with Count Sigebodo of Scartfeld, a Saxon (cf. above, n. 60). For the last five the only authority cited is Joseph Freiherr von Hormayr-Hortenburg's *Die goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau* (Munich, 1842), where it is stated (p. 57, sub anno 1172) that "nach ganz neuen Aufzeichnungen" these five men, among many other Bavarian and Swabian nobles, joined the pilgrimage. Unfortunately, no clue is given to either the place or the trustworthiness of the *Aufzeichnungen*.

⁷⁴ Book I, chap. iii, p. 17: "Fuit autem numerus virorum educantium gladium mille ducenti." The context of this statement is cited below, n. 114. I agree with Professor E. H. Byrne (*Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* ["Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America," No. 1 (Cambridge, 1930)] p. 9) that there is some justification for "the suspicion with which modern historians . . . regard round numbers given by mediaeval writers." The number 1,200, however, seems not sufficiently round to elicit grave suspicion. Besides, we have the testimony of the chronicler of Cologne (see above, n. 65), that the knights participating in the pilgrimage numbered almost five hundred; and it may not be gratuitously assumed that the Cologne chronicler meant to include under *militēs* the entire body of men which Arnold divides into *nobiliores*, *viri liberi*, and *ministeriales* (cf. above nn. 50 and 68)—all of whom, however, would come under the general head of *viri educantes gladium*. It may be admitted, on the other hand, that when the author of the *Historia de duce Hinrico* (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 45], p. 242; cf. Kohlmann's comment, *ibid.*, pp. 236–39) wrote, "erantque [on the arrival at Constantinople] in comitatu ducis prefati ad duo milia hominum," he in all likelihood rounded out somewhat too generously the number given by Arnold (cf. below, n. 76).

⁷⁵ An envoy of Frederick Barbarossa, with a retinue of some knights and *servi*, journeyed along with Henry the Lion's troop from Vienna to Constantinople (see below, nn. 89 and 115). The envoy's knights, whom we cannot suppose to have numbered more than fifty, are perhaps included in Arnold's report of twelve hundred swordsmen; for this report appears to cover all the swordsmen available at the moment.

⁷⁶ To arrive at the total of two thousand, given by the author of the *Historia de duce Hinrico* (cf. above, n. 74) and accepted by Röhricht (*Beiträge*, II, 109), we

that all the members of this group did not journey on to Jerusalem. The single ship which conveyed the pilgrims from Constantinople to Acre could by no chance have accommodated more than twelve hundred persons in addition to its crew, and probably its passenger capacity was considerably less than this.⁷⁷ In all likelihood, therefore, the *servi* and perhaps some of the *ministeriales* tarried in Constantinople until they were rejoined there by the pilgrims, several months later.⁷⁸

would have to assume that the ecclesiastics and the *servi* numbered together as many as eight hundred. I doubt that there were more than one or two dozen ecclesiastics at most. But it may well have required some three hundred or more *servi* to attend to the horses and the transport of the supplies for a troop of swordsmen numbering about twelve hundred. G. Waitz (*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, VIII [Berlin, 1878], 139) estimated a twelfth-century *Reichsheer* of thirty thousand knights to have totaled about one hundred thousand men, including *Schildknappen* and *Tross*—i.e., the knights formed about three-tenths of the entire army. Our figures for Henry the Lion's troop of travelers—about fifteen hundred in all, and less than five hundred knights—seem to square pretty well with Waitz's estimate for the *Reichsheer*.

⁷⁷ The expression *navis firmissima*, by which Arnold designates the ship in question (see below, n. 138, second citation, also n. 141), would seem to describe a very sturdy rather than an unusually large vessel. It may have been a *buza* (see A. Jal, *Glossaire nautique* [Paris, 1848], p. 360, s.v.; Byrne, p. 5; Frederick C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* ["Johns Hopkins Historical Publications" (Baltimore, 1934)], pp. 35 [n. 2], 36–37), the type of vessel on which the pilgrim Theoderich (see his *Libellus de locis sanctis*, chap. xl, *loc. cit.* [above, n. 51], p. 91, and the note on p. 223) journeyed to and from Palestine ca. 1173–74. The largest ship that had entered the port of Constantinople up to the year 1171 (Cinnamus, *loc. cit.* [above, n. 36], chap. x, p. 283; Nicetas Choniata, *Historia*, Book V, chap. ix, ed. J. Bekker in *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* [Bonn, 1835], pp. 223–24), and which perhaps had a passenger capacity of fifteen hundred or more (see A. Jal, *Archéologie navale*, II [Paris, 1840], 148 ff.), was not available to Henry the Lion in 1172; for some fugitive Venetians had taken possession of this ship and sailed away with it the preceding year (Cinnamus, *loc. cit.*; Nicetas Choniata, *loc. cit.*; Marcus, *Chronicon Venetum*, in *Archivio storico italiano*, 1st ser., VIII [1845], 260, *sub anno* 1171). Since Venetian round ships (sailing ships as distinct from galleys) were sometimes used as long as fourteen years (see Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 263), it seems not unlikely that the ship seized by the Venetian fugitives was the same as the "*navis quaedam mille quingentos peregrinos deferens*," which William of Tyre (Book XXII, chap. xiv, *loc. cit.*, p. 1087) reports to have been wrecked off Damietta in 1182. The size of this vessel was without question regarded at the time as extraordinary. Even in the thirteenth century, the passenger capacity of the larger ships used for transport of pilgrims and crusaders seems rarely if ever to have exceeded eleven or twelve hundred (cf. Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Jal, *Glossaire*, p. 1061, s.v. "*Navis*").

⁷⁸ See below, pp. 187, 204.

Having surveyed the personnel of the expedition, we turn our inquiry next to the *matériel*. There can be no doubt that the Jerusalemfarers, to whom attention is here devoted, traveled under arms—as their congeners of the epoch antedating the Crusades evidently did not;⁷⁹ for, in addition to the testimony concerning swordsmen cited in the preceding paragraph, we have evidence that at least some of the knights were equipped with cuirasses and that military banners and standards formed part of the accouterments.⁸⁰ The number of horses, wagons, and drays that our travelers had with them at the outset can be only conjectured. Also, it is difficult to determine whether some of the horses were mounts, or if the entire group—not including those designed to be gift horses—consisted of dray and pack animals.⁸¹ Though advantage was taken several times on the journey of transportation by ship, the vessels were offered to or engaged by Henry the Lion for the occasion only, and they cannot, therefore, be regarded as belonging to the expedition's own equipment.⁸² It need hardly be said that the chief use made of the wagons and drays was to carry provisions. These latter—a substantial part of which may have been obtained in Vienna by previous arrangement—were both diversified and plentiful, including not only flour, meat, fish, and wine but also

⁷⁹ See John C. Pletz, "The Palestine Pilgrimages of the Eleventh Century" (University of Chicago [unpublished] Master's dissertation [1938]), chap. iii, sec. 1; also my essay, "The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065," in L. J. Paetow (ed.), *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro* (New York, 1928), pp. 14-15 (n. 37), 40-41.

⁸⁰ Arnold, Book I, chap. iii, p. 16: "signis bellicis . . . levantes signa"; *ibid.*, p. 17: "arma . . . vexillum ducis . . . milites loricati."

⁸¹ The horses acquired on the journey (see below, n. 188) may not, of course, be reckoned as part of the equipment. It is true that the pilgrims were mounted when they proceeded from Acre to Jerusalem, but the animals they rode on that occasion were procured at Acre (see below, n. 149; cf. n. 179). If riding horses were taken along from Germany and used as such on the pilgrimage, our sources fail to indicate this fact. See below, nn. 90, 106, 114, 195.

⁸² See below, nn. 90, 138, 179.

delicacies fastidiously prepared with condiments.⁸³ Much money and treasure were brought by the duke; and he took with him, besides, a number of select horses and a quantity of beautiful trappings, fine vestments, and well-wrought weapons, suitable for presentation as gifts at Constantinople and in the Holy Land.⁸⁴

III

His preparations complete, Henry the Lion "in great glory" set forth from Brunswick about the middle of January, 1172.⁸⁵ The unusual mildness of the winter⁸⁶ probably enabled the pilgrims to assemble and to begin their journey without great discomfort. In somewhat less than three weeks the duke brought his entire Saxon following to Ratisbon, where he celebrated, on February 2, the feast of Candlemas, in company with the optimates of Bavaria.⁸⁷ The Bavarian

⁸³ See below, nn. 90, 106, 107. Böttiger's view (p. 279), that Henry "nahm . . . die Lebensmittel wohl erst aus Bayern mit," lacks support in the sources. The delicacies brought by the Saxon pilgrims may well have been prepared before the latter left their homes. It seems likely that the great bulk of the other supplies were procured in Vienna (cf. below, n. 90); but, since there is no evidence of provisioning on the journey thither, we may suppose that some flour, meat, fish, and wine were carried from Saxony and Bavaria.

⁸⁴ *Ann. Egmund., loc. cit.*: "dux Saxoniae Henricus, . . . cum multarum apparatu divitiarum Ierusalem profectus," etc. Robert of Torigni, *loc. cit.*: "Thesaurus . . . quos [Henricus, dux Saxonum et Baiaorum] secum portaverat," etc. See also below, nn. 123, 153, 154, 156, 161, and the Appendix (p. 221).

⁸⁵ Arnold, Book I, chap. ii, p. 12: "Dux autem cum magna gloria profectus est de Brunswich post octavam epiphanie"—i.e., after January 13.

⁸⁶ *Ann. Egmund., loc. cit.*: "hiemps mollissima fuit, in tantum ut vix duobus continuis diebus glacies aliqua duraret, et omnia ante solitum veris tempus in germen prorumperent, et volucres ut dicitur circa purificationem sanctae Mariae [cf. the next note] ova et pullos in multis locis foverent." *Annales Magdeburgenses, sub anno 1172 (MGH SS, XVI, 193)*: "Mense Ianuario ingens fragor ventorum, et in Februario crebra micuerunt fulmina."

⁸⁷ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12-13: "et venit [dux] cum omni comitatu suo Ratisbonam, ibique sollempniter egit diem purificationis cum optimatibus terre. Quorum etiam nobiliores peregrinationi sue sociavit," etc. Cf. above nn. 72 and 73. *Ann. Weingartenses Welfici, loc. cit.*: "Henricus dux Bawariorum et Saxonum Hierosolimitanum iter aggressus est circa purificationem sancte Marie."

pilgrims then joined the Saxons, and Henry led his fully mustered troop southeastward into Austria. At Klosterneuburg he was greeted by a large concourse of clergymen and laymen, headed by his stepfather, Henry Jasomirgott, duke of Austria. The latter, who long ago had consigned to oblivion his quondam discord with Henry the Lion, escorted him in all honor to Vienna.⁸⁸

Here, it would seem, Bishop Conrad II of Worms, whom Frederick Barbarossa had commissioned as his envoy to Byzantium, associated himself and his retinue with the company of pilgrims. The question as to what motivated Frederick to dispatch this embassy apparently was regarded even by fairly well-informed contemporaries as more or less problematic. Arnold of Lübeck intimates that though the envoy had the ostensible mission of arranging a marriage alliance between Frederick's son and a daughter of Manuel Comnenus, yet it is more correct to believe that he was sent with to Constantinople for the duke's convenience: the friendly proposal he had to present would induce Manuel to receive Henry the Lion with kindness and more willingly to grant him safe-conduct through his land. Frederick may indeed have informed Henry that such was the secret purpose of this embassy. But we shall hardly err in assuming that Conrad of Worms had been also instructed to watch closely any negotiations between the basileus and the Saxon duke.

⁸⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 13: "Et ita [i.e., from Ratisbon] processit [dux] in regnum Orientale ad vitricum suum, nobilem ducem Heinricum, qui totus festinus occurrit ei in castro Nuenburg cum maximo cleri plebisque tripudio, ubi mater eius domna Gertrudis memorabilem sortita est sepulturam. Inde honorifice deduxit eum in civitatem metropolitanam Wene," etc. It is well known that Henry the Lion's mother, Gertrude, was the only daughter of the Holy Roman emperor Lothair (of Supplinburg). After the death of her first husband—Henry the Proud, father of Henry the Lion—Gertrude in 1142 married Henry Jasomirgott, but she died the following year (Heydel, pp. 4-5, nn. 9 and 11). The burial place of Gertrude was not Klosterneuburg but the adjacent monastery of Heiligenkreuz, which latter Arnold presumably has confused with the former (cf. *ibid.*, p. 74, n. 424). On the settlement of Henry the Lion's quarrel with Henry Jasomirgott over Bavaria, see Philippon, pp. 176-78; Gronen, p. 26; Heydel, p. 41.

For Frederick probably knew that, some years earlier, a Byzantine embassy had been received in Brunswick; and, if so, he could not have believed that the duke really needed his suzerain's intervention with Manuel.⁸⁹

It seems likely that Henry the Lion had arranged in advance at Vienna not only for delivery to him of a large store of provisions but also for transportation of the pilgrims and their supplies by ship on the Danube as far as the Byzantine frontier. In any case, vessels were available upon his arrival in this city, and he obtained there a copious cargo of flour, wine, and other necessities. The vessels seem to have been boarded by all except the *servi*, who were to drive the horses by land and meet the vessels each evening at a place agreed upon in the morning. In this convenient manner the journey proceeded a considerable distance under the guidance of Henry Jasomirgott, who accompanied our travelers in his

⁸⁹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Nec pretereundum, quod domnus Wormaciensis huic itineri se sociavit, non peregrinationis gratia, sed legatione functus imperatoris ad regem Grecorum Manoe pro filia ipsius filio suo matrimonio socianda. Verius tamen ob commodum ducis factum creditur, ut tam familiari legatione accepta benigne ducem rex Grecorum susciperet et benignius per terram suam ducatum ei preberet." Though Arnold does not specifically state that the bishop of Worms joined the pilgrims at Vienna, this may be deduced from the connection in which the bishop is introduced into Arnold's narrative; and "huic itineri," near the beginning of the passage just cited, seems to refer to "navale iter" in the passage quoted in the next note. The view that the real business of Conrad of Worms was to watch possible negotiations between Henry the Lion and Manuel Comnenus, seems to have been expressed originally by Philippon (see the first ed. of his work, II, 172; cf. the rev. ed., p. 384), but was followed up and elaborated somewhat by Kap-Herr (pp. 100-101). Editha Gronen (p. 62 and n. 58) declines to accept this view, on the ground that Frederick could not in 1172 have been informed that Henry the Lion intended to conclude an alliance with Manuel—an argument which is quite beside the point if, as I will subsequently attempt to show (below, pp. 211 ff.), Henry had no thought of entering such an alliance. It seems fairly obvious that Arnold, whether or not he was aware of Frederick's suspicions, wished to credit him with a favorable attitude toward Henry's pilgrimage. Since the arrival of the Byzantine embassy in Brunswick evidently was not kept secret, having been openly recorded in a Saxon chronicle (see below, n. 209) which was completed not later than 1172 (see F. J. Tschan [trans.], *The Chronicle of the Slavs by Helmold, Priest of Bosau* ["Records of Civilization," ed. under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University (New York, 1935)], p. 25, and the references there cited in n. 25), it would be passing strange if Frederick had no knowledge of this embassy. Cf. Giesebrecht, V, 694 and n.; VI, 500.

own (for the purpose revamped) Danubian fleet and furnished them in abundance with the requisites of hospitality.⁹⁰

At Mesenburg, or Moson, on the border of the Magyar realm,⁹¹ the two dukes and their following were met by Florentius, a deputy of King Stephen III of Hungary, himself son-in-law of Henry Jasomirgott.⁹² Florentius stood ready to give further guidance down the Danube, and a tranquil voyage under his direction brought the entire company safely to Gran (Esztergom) on March 4. But upsetting news was there imparted: King Stephen had died the preceding night, poisoned, some said, by his banished brother Bela.⁹³ Stephen's demise greatly distressed both Henry Jaso-

⁹⁰ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "ubi [i.e., at Vienna; cf. above, n. 88] comparatis navibus, frumento et vino ceterisque necessariis copiose onustatis, dux cum suis navale iter per divexa Danubii arripuit; servi tamen cum equis via terrestri perrexerunt, vespertino tempore semper venientes ad locum determinatum, ubi naves applicuissent. [Here follows the passage quoted in the preceding note.] Dux etiam Orientalis vel Austrie instaurata classe prosecutus est ducem Saxonie, ducatum ei prebens et hospitalitatis necessaria habundantissime amministrans. Cum magna igitur commoditate," etc. We may infer that some of the horses (cf. above, n. 81) were made use of, now as later (cf. below, n. 106), to draw the wagons and drays, since these can hardly have been procured after completion of the sail down the Danube. But the vehicles were probably not laden with supplies on this part of the journey, or at least not laden very heavily (cf. above, n. 83), for it is difficult to believe that the horses in such case could have kept pace with the ships, even allowing for the numerous bends in the Danube. I take it that "frumento" here means "flour." Underground grain would not have been readily usable on a journey, and Arnold later refers to *farina* but not to *frumentum* (see below, n. 107).

⁹¹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "ad civitatem que Mesenburg dicitur pervenerunt, que sita est in confinio Ungarie," etc. Mesenburg is usually identified with Wieselburg, the present Moson (or Mosony), situated on the Leitha River, just above its confluence with the southern channel of the Danube. Cf. Lappenberg, *ibid.*, n. 7; Heydel, p. 75; and see W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (7th ed., revised and enlarged; New York, 1929), pp. 63 and 159; or K. von Spruner and T. Menke (Spruner-Menke), *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* (3d ed.; Gotha, 1880), No. 73.

⁹² Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "ubi [i.e., at Mesenburg] legatus regis Ungarorum, Florentius dictus, paratus fuit ad excipiendum ducem Saxonie una cum duce Orientali vel Austrie, cuius sororem rex habebat." On Stephen III of Hungary (1161-72), consult the index to Giesebrecht's work (VI, 804, s.v.); also see Chalandon, pp. 471 ff. Giesebrecht (V, 694; VI, 500) has called attention to the fact that Stephen's wife, Agnes, was not Henry Jasomirgott's sister, as Arnold says, but his daughter.

⁹³ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 13-14: "et ita procedentes cum summa tranquillitate applicuerunt ad urbem quandam, que naturaliter est munitissima. Nam ex uno latere

mirgott and Henry the Lion, the latter fearing that he could not now obtain a duly authorized guide and that without one it would be unsafe to continue the journey. He consulted with his men as to what should be done, and it was decided to dispatch Bishop Conrad of Lübeck and Abbots Henry and Bertold to the archbishop of Gran,⁹⁴ with a request that he arrange to have a guide appointed by the proper authority. The archbishop proved obliging; he summoned together the Hungarian magnates and persuaded them to sanction reappointment of Florentius.⁹⁵

After the pilgrims had departed from Gran, their sail down

cingitur Danubio, ex alio alveo profundissimo qui Grane dicitur, a quo urbs et civitas, que in altera ripa sita est, nomen accepit. Gravis autem mestitia duces illic perculit. Nam ipsa nocte rex veneno interiit, appotiatius ut dicunt a fratre suo, quem de terra eiecerat." The next-to-last sentence in this passage evidently implies that the pilgrims were informed of the king's death immediately upon their arrival in Gran. Accordingly, "ipsa nocte" must mean the night preceding their arrival. It is well established that Stephen died on March 4 (see Alfons Huber, *Geschichte Österreichs*, I [Gotha, 1885], 367, n. 2; cf. Giesebrecht, V, 694; Heydel, 75 and n. 428), but this date, in medieval reckoning of time, covered the twenty-four-hour period which begins for us at 6:00 P.M. on March 3. That Stephen was poisoned, either by Bela III or by Manuel, is very questionable; see Chalandon, p. 492, n. 1; I. A. Fessler, *Geschichte von Ungarn*, I (2d ed., enlarged and revised by E. Klein; Leipzig, 1867), 268; E. Csuday, *Geschichte der Ungarn* (2d [enlarged] ed., trans. by M. Darvai; s.l., 1900), p. 210.

⁹⁴ The archbishop of Gran at this time was Lucas Bánffy, an irreconcilable opponent of Bela III (see Huber, I, 368; Csuday, pp. 210-12).

⁹⁵ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 14: "Unde grave afflictione constricti ignorabant quid agerent. Dux enim Saxonie graviter cum suis angebatur, quod in peregrinatione constitutus tuto ulterius progredi non posset, quia morte regis quasi prefocatus ducem vie habere non poterat. Nec minus alter [i.e., Jasomirgott] affligebatur de tam subito regis interitu, eo quod intestatus obiisset et sororem suam viduam [cf. above, n. 92 *ad fin.*], pregnantem tamen, quasi exsortem regni sine herede reliquisset. Consilio autem habito, missi sunt ad archiepiscopum, qui tunc in civitate constitutus erat, regii funeris exequiis occupatus, Conradus episcopus, Heinricus abbas, Bertoldus abbas, quatenus ipsius ordinatione dux Saxonie ducem itineris habere potuisset. Qui benivolum se huic negotio exhibuit, et convocatis principibus tandem ordinatum est, ut Florentius supra memoratus cum duce procederet via qua ceperat." The "Conradus episcopus" of this passage undoubtedly is Conrad of Lübeck and not Conrad of Worms (cf. Röhrich, *Beiträge*, II, 110), for Arnold always refers to the latter as "domnus Wormaciensis."

the river continued for several days to be prosperous.⁹⁶ But somewhere between the place where the Danube unites with the Drave and the place where it is joined by the Morava one of the vessels met disaster.⁹⁷ Arnold gives a graphic description of the locality in which the ill fortune befell. "Enormous cliffs," he says, "there jutted out like mountains and on one of the cliffs stood a fortress. By obstructing the current of the river and narrowing its channel, the cliffs render passage in

⁹⁶ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. iii: "Dimissi igitur dux et sui prospere navigabant per aliquot dies, et inciderunt quoddam periculum, quod vulgariter skere dicitur," etc. The *servi* presumably continued to drive the horses by land (cf. above, n. 90).

⁹⁷ Arnold, it will be observed (see the preceding and the following note), merely indicates that the shipwreck occurred several days after the pilgrims had departed from Gran and before they arrived in Brandiz. More than a century ago a scholar who identified himself only as "Pf. Sch."—but who, according to J. Freiherr von Hormayr-Hortenburg (*Die Bayern im Morgenlande* [Munich, 1832], Notes, p. 19), was Professor Schaffarik of Neusatz in Hungary—contributed to the *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (XLII [Vienna, 1828], 26 ff.) a learned geographical commentary on Ansbert's *De expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, in which he showed among other things that the site of Brandiz (Branitschewo, Branitschowa, Branitzewo) was that of the ancient Viminacium and the modern Kostolatz, i.e., it was on the right bank of the Danube, at, or slightly east of, the confluence of the Morava (see esp. *ibid.*, pp. 34–35; also, *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV [New York, 1923], 355, and Map 42 at the end of the volume, where Brandiz is designated as "Brandusium" or "Branitschewo" (cf. Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas*, No. 84); at the same time, however, Schaffarik tried to prove that Henry the Lion's shipwreck took place in certain narrows of the Danube located to the east of Brandiz (between Dobra and Poreč), and that after the shipwreck the pilgrims returned to Brandiz. The latter view, it may be noted, has not the support of Arnold, who states that after the disabled ship had been repaired the pilgrims "pervenerunt Brandiz," thus indicating that they went on, not back. According to Wigger (*loc. cit.*, pp. 8–9 and notes), there is reason to suppose that Henry the Lion had definitely planned to turn southward at Brandiz, since the regular route to Constantinople lay through the Morava Valley, and since the duke could expect to find at Brandiz what he probably would not find in every place along the lower Danube, namely, a Byzantine *legatus* ready to furnish safe-conduct through the dominions of the Eastern emperor (cf. below, n. 103). Wigger opined that the shipwreck may have occurred either above Belgrade, in the mountainous region between the mouths of the Drave and the Tisa (Theiss); or else just below Belgrade, where, along the right bank of the Danube, there were still to be seen in Wigger's time (ca. 1875) some declivitous and rocky hills crowned with the ruins of fortresses, though there were no dangerous narrows bordered by cliffs like those described by Arnold. The information that Arnold supplies does not, in my judgment, permit more exact determination of the place of the shipwreck than that attempted in the sentence to which this note is appended. Cf. L. Ranke, *Die serbische Revolution* (Hamburg, 1829), pp. 250 f., and the map at the end of the volume.

this place very difficult for navigators; for the collected waters first swell and surge, then with a mighty roar rush precipitously into the deep." Curiously enough, the single vessel that failed to pass the narrows safely was the one on which Henry the Lion, Count Gunzelin, the seneschal Jordan, and some others were voyaging. Their distress, however, was of brief duration: men from the fortress rescued the duke in a skiff, and his companions swam to shore. The ship seems not to have been damaged seriously; it was soon repaired, and the pilgrims then sailed on as far as the city of Brandiz, situated immediately to the east of the mouth of the Morava.⁹⁸ The Danube divides here into two streams, and at periods of low water the southern stream becomes small and shallow.⁹⁹ Apparently, the vessels carrying the pilgrims were directed into the southern stream, for they are said to have stood on dry land after reaching Brandiz.¹⁰⁰ Our voyagers, we may believe, had not intended to follow the Danube farther,¹⁰¹ and in fact they now abandoned the ships.¹⁰²

Since Brandiz lay within the confines of the Eastern Empire,¹⁰³ it may be supposed that the pilgrims parted here

⁹⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 14-15: "quia ibi scopuli immanissimi ad instar montium prominentes, quorum uni castellum impositum est, interceptis aquis meandi facultate subtracta, difficillimum illic navigantibus transitum fecerunt; aque enim in arcum collecte primo quidem consurgentes intumescunt et postea magno fragore quaque in preceps cadunt. Omnes tamen naves nutu Dei illic illese transierunt, sed solus dux ibidem naufragium pertulit. Quod videntes hi qui in castello erant, navicula arrepta, eum ad terram traxerunt. Guncelinus autem et Iordanis dapifer cum aliis natando evaserunt. Restaurata igitur nave pervenerunt Brandiz, urbem regis Grecorum, ubi deficientibus aquis naves in sicco steterunt." It may be noted here that Arnold always styles the Byzantine emperor *rex*, never *imperator* or *basileus*.

⁹⁹ See Schaffarik, *loc. cit.*, p. 32. Arnold (*loc. cit.*, p. 15) explains that at Brandiz the main stream of the Danube enters a subterranean channel, so that in consequence its overland stream is small until the great volume of water again rushes forth at Sowa (the modern Orsova, in Rumania, just above the Iron Gate). Our chronicler's misinformation on this point may perhaps be accounted for, in part, by the fact that his voyage down the Danube ended at Brandiz.

¹⁰⁰ See above, n. 98 *ad fin.*

¹⁰¹ Cf. above, n. 97.

¹⁰² See below, n. 105.

¹⁰³ Arnold definitely states that Brandiz was "a city of the king of the Greeks" (see above, n. 98 *ad fin.*).

with their Magyar guide; and perhaps they obtained already at this point the services of the Byzantine *legatus* who is known to have accompanied them on a subsequent stage of the journey.¹⁰⁴ Their route from Brandiz led up the valley of the Morava and through a region called the Bulgarian Forest.¹⁰⁵ Marshes and bogs made travel in these parts exceedingly difficult. Some of the horses died of exhaustion as they tugged wagons and drays overladen with supplies. Very frequently too the vehicles broke down, and excessive labor was required in repairing and propping the wheels. No progress seemed to be made; for it had been commanded that, whenever a conveyance went to pieces, there must be a general halt until it had been restored. The duke, therefore, having observed that the irksomeness of their toil caused his men to loiter too long on the way, ordered that the vehicles be abandoned and the food supplies loaded upon beasts of burden—presumably the dray and pack horses that still survived.¹⁰⁶ But enough horses to carry all the supplies were

¹⁰⁴ See below, n. 110. Wigger suggests (*loc. cit.*, p. 10 and n. 1) that probably a messenger had been sent in advance to announce the expedition to Emperor Manuel, since the Byzantine official who received the pilgrims at Brandiz hardly could have granted them safe-conduct without specific orders from the emperor. The best support for Wigger's suggestion is, in my judgment, the manner in which the duke was received and entertained at Nish (see below, n. 117).

¹⁰⁵ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 15: "Relictis igitur navibus [i.e., at Brandiz; cf. above, n. 98 *ad fin.*] terrestrem viam ingressi intraverunt nemus illud maximum et notissimum, quod Bulgerewalt dicitur," etc. The pilgrims seem to have followed the line of the old Roman road which led from Viminacium (Brandiz) to Naissus (Nish) and thence southeastward to Constantinople. This road is shown in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, I (New York, 1911), Map 14 (at the end of the volume). The same road had been taken by the several armies of crusaders who accompanied Walter the Penniless, Peter the Hermit, and Godfrey of Bouillon in 1096, and by those who went with Conrad III and Louis VII in 1147 (see Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 66-67, 70-71). Under the name "Bulgarian Forest" (*Bulgerewalt*) was included at this time the whole stretch of territory between Belgrade and Nish (see Schaffarik, *loc. cit.*, p. 30).

¹⁰⁶ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "ubi [i.e., in the Bulgarian Forest] multum laboraverunt tam ipsi quam equi eorum in profunditate palustri, et destructi sunt equi eorum, plurimum trahentes in plaustis et carrucis copiam victualium. Cumque creberrime plaustra conterentur, et omnes nimio labore deficerent in reficiendis et sublevandis curribus [this word seems here intended to mean "wheels"] et processum nullum haberent, eo quod dictum fuisset, ut una carruca confracta omnes subsisterent, do-

evidently not available; for it became necessary to leave behind, in the bogs of the Bulgarian Forest, huge heaps of flour, large quantities of meat and fish, many casks of wine, and even the toothsome delicacies.¹⁰⁷

Thus relieved, the pilgrims journeyed on without further recorded incident until they approached the stronghold Ravenelle, situated some seventy miles to the south of Brandiz. Though the region for which Ravenelle formed a center lay in the middle of the Bulgarian Forest, it was peopled by Serbs.¹⁰⁸ Arnold characterizes its inhabitants, manifestly not with entire objectivity, in the following manner:

They are sons of Belial who know not the yoke of God but give way to the allurements of the flesh and the gullet. In accord with their name [*Servi*] they do service to all that is unclean. They conform themselves to the nature of the places they inhabit, live like animals, and are more savage even than beasts.¹⁰⁹

nec ea refecta omnes pariter procederent, animadvertens dux, quod ob tedium tanti laboris nimiam facerent moram progrediendi, precepit ut relictis plaustris victualia iumentis imponerent et sic abirent." Though Arnold may seem to employ the terms *plaustrum* and *carruca* interchangeably, his use of both terms together in the first sentence of this passage probably implies a distinction. What the distinction was is difficult to determine. I have rendered *plaustrum* "dray," and *carruca* "wagon"—not without some hesitation.

¹⁰⁷ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Videres igitur immensos acervos farine purissime proiectos, vasa vinaria plurima et maxima vino plena relictas, carnum, piscium multitudinem ibi neglectam et quicquid deliciarum accuratius sibi quisque preparaverat diversis condimentis."

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16: "Procedentes igitur appropriabant urbi que Ravenelle dicitur, que in medio nemoris sita est, cuius habitatores Servi dicuntur," etc. The site of Ravenelle (Rabnel, Ravava, Rawenetz, Rawana, Rawno, Rawan, Rawen na Morawje, etc.) appears to have been that of the Roman Horrea Margi (Horreum Margi) and the modern Cuprija, in Yugoslavia, on the Morava River (see Schaffarik, *loc. cit.*, pp. 37-40). The place is indicated in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, Vol. I, Map 14 (at the end of the volume); cf. Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas*, No. 84.

¹⁰⁹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 16: "Servi dicuntur, filii Belial, sine iugo Dei, illecebris carnis et gule dediti et secundum nomen suum immundiciis omnibus servientes et iuxta locorum qualitatem bellualiter vivendo, bestiis etiam agrestiores." With Schaffarik (*loc. cit.*, p. 41) one may well doubt the objectiveness of this characterization of the Serbs. But, further on in his chronicle (Book IV, chap. viii, p. 131), Arnold refers to the Serbs without animadversion; and, on the other hand, he discovers

The legate of Emperor Manuel undertook to go in advance to Ravenelle for the purpose of commanding the Serbs, as Byzantine subjects, to receive the Saxon duke with honor and in every way render him respectful service worthy the magnificence of the emperor. His orders, however, were scornfully rejected, and the legate came back from his errand in chagrin. Henry the Lion, undeterred, moved forward and pitched camp near the stronghold, then again sent thither a messenger to declare that he came in peace and to request that he be furnished a guide. But it was of no avail; and, in spite of repeated efforts to persuade them, the Serbs remained obdurate.¹¹⁰

Henry resolved now to defy the men of Ravenelle, since they evidently had no intention of coming to terms. Deeming it well to advise his companions that in case of attack they would be justified in resorting to arms, the duke addressed them, according to Arnold,¹¹¹ in a speech of this tenor:

It is proper, indeed, since we are on a pilgrimage, that we come in peace and gentleness, and for this reason we ought not to exhibit the insignia of

"sons of Belial," also, in the mercenary soldiers whom Archbishop Philip of Cologne brought with him on a raiding expedition in Saxony in 1179 (Book II, chap. xi, p. 49). J. K. Wright (*The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* [New York, 1925], p. 317) may have taken a little too seriously the words of Arnold quoted in this note.

¹¹⁰ Arnold, Book I, chap. iii, p. 16: "Subiecti [*sc.* Servi] tamen noscuntur regi Grecorum, cuius legatus ducem [Henry the Lion] preveniens, qui tunc cum ipso erat, precepit ut ducem in castro honorifice susciperent et, ut deceret regis magnificentiam, in omnibus ei honestissime subservirent. Qui eius monita sive precepta contempnentes dimiserunt eum vacuum ac sine honore abiecerunt. Qui reversus ad ducem nunciavit ei quod audierat. Et venit dux cum suis prope urbem et ibi castra metatus est. Et iterum misso nuntio mandat se pacifice venire, rogans ut conductorem ab eis accipiat, et sic in pace discedat. Cumque hoc sepius attentatum fuisset et nichil proficessent," etc. The messengers last referred to in this passage cannot be definitely identified. In view of the rebuff given by the Serbs to the Byzantine legate, it seems unlikely that he was requested to deal with them again. According to Cinnamus (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 36], pp. 286-88), the Venetians about this time had incited the Serbs to revolt against Byzantium (cf. Chalandon, p. 397).

¹¹¹ Damas (*loc. cit.*, p. 217) has expressed the view, that the speeches incorporated by Arnold in his chronicle are mere "rhetorischer Schmuck, . . . ganz allein auf

war as we proceed toward a fortress of the king to whom our course is directed. Yet, because these sons of Belial follow not the ways of peace but appear to be threatening us with war, raise ye the standards and let us advance! May the God of our fathers be with us, He for whose name we are undertaking this pilgrimage, and following whose precepts we have forsaken homes and brethren, wives and children and lands. Here, force must be used. Let us fight valiantly! May that befall which pleaseth the Lord, for whether we live or die we are His.¹¹²

At this command, says our informant, the pilgrims raised their standards, passed by Ravenelle, and, having advanced a short distance, pitched camp for the night. They found themselves now by the side of a translucent stream, in a long dale naturally fortified with mountains on the right and a dense thicket of brambles on the left. After fires had been lighted and guards stationed about the camp, its occupants refreshed themselves with food and then sought rest.¹¹³

The Serbs, meanwhile, made ready for action. Having assembled their men from the entire vicinage, they arrayed them in four troops and at midnight closed in on the pilgrims with a terrific clamor, the volume of which steadily grew as

seine Rechnung zu setzen." That this may be true in a number of instances, I will not deny. Those (relatively short) speeches, however, which appear in the narrative of the pilgrimage—excluding chap. xi, the content of which is obviously legendary in character—may well contain, perhaps in slightly altered form, the essence of actual discourses. It is quite conceivable that Arnold, as a participant in the expedition, himself heard these discourses and included certain of their main points in his memoranda of the journey (cf. above, pp. 151-55).

¹¹² Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "dux ait ad suos: 'Iustum quidem est, ut in peregrinatione positi cum omni pace et mansuetudine incedamus, et ideo cum signis bellicis ad urbem regis, ad quem tendimus, procedere non debuimus: sed quia isti filii Belial que pacis sunt non sectantes bellum nobis intentare videntur, levate signa et procedamus! Deus patrum nostrorum nobiscum sit, pro cuius nomine peregrinamur et eius precepta secuti domos et fratres, uxores et filios et agros reliquimus. Hic viribus utendum est. Pugnemus fortiter! Quicquid ipsi placuerit fiat, quia sive vivimus, sive morimur, Domini sumus.' "

¹¹³ *Ibid.*: "His dictis levantes signa profecti preterierunt urbem, nec longe castra metati sunt in valle longissima super rivum perlucidum, habentes a dextris montana, a sinistris vero rubum pinarum densissimum. Hoc igitur muniti presidio accenderunt ignes maximos, et ordinatis excubiis per castra curam corporis habuerunt et dormitum est." I find no basis for Röhrich's opinion (*Beiträge*, II, 111) that Henry planned "zum Angriff übergehen" before he himself had been attacked.

each troop in turn hooted more loudly. If the purpose of these tactics was so to terrify the assailed that they would flee and leave their belongings to be snatched up as booty, it was not destined to be realized. Rising from slumber, the Germans quickly seized arms and prepared to offer resistance. Henry the marshal rounded up all the knights, urging them to gather at a place where the duke had posted his standard. The *servi* brought the horses to one side and kept them under guard; they were to make it known at once if they were attacked, so that the knights might come to their defense. Bishop Conrad of Lübeck and the abbots Henry and Bertold hastened along with the knights to the designated place of concentration, where the prelates seated themselves next to Henry the Lion.¹¹⁴ A huge pile of wood was then ignited, in front of which stood Count Gunzelin with all the more sturdy men-at-arms. As these were strengthening one another with mutual exhortations, suddenly an arrow fell on the ground near them, so that in terror they quickly laid hold of their weapons; and hardly had they done this when a messenger came to report that the camp of Frederick Barbarossa's envoy, Bishop Conrad of Worms, had been occupied by the enemy: with their poisoned arrows, which brought inevitable death to whomsoever they wounded, the Serbs had killed one of the envoy's knights and two of his *servi*.¹¹⁵ Twenty of the

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17: "Cum ecce media nocte Servi in unum ex omni nemore conglobati fecerunt quatuor turmas et per vices in quatuor partibus ululantes invalescebant maximis vociferationibus, sperantes sic terreri exercitum ducis, ut fugientes bona sua proicerent, et illic predam raperent. Dux autem consurgens cum suis ad arma convolabat, et circuibat Heinricus marscalcus cogens milites omnes ad vexillum ducis convenire. Servi etiam ex una parte sub custodia equos servabant, quibus preceptum erat, ut si priores insultum hostium exceperant, sine mora militibus nunciarent, ut presidio eis fierent. Fuit autem numerus virorum educantium gladium mille ducenti. Cumque ut dictum est milites omnes ad ducem venirent, ascenderunt etiam ad eum Conradus episcopus et abbates Heinricus et Bertoldus et sedebant iuxta ducem."

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17: "Duce autem sedente in armis, accensus est rogos ingens, et statim ante eum Guncelinus comes et quique robustiores, mutuis se exhortationibus confortantes, et subito prodiit sagitta et cecidit prope eos. Unde exterriti celerius arma corripiunt. Subito autem venit qui diceret, castra domni Wormaciensis ab

duke's knights in cuirass were promptly dispatched to the envoy's camp; and as they boldly pressed in upon the attackers and forced them to yield ground, a catapult of the enemy was by some mishap discharged in the wrong direction so that its missile struck their leader and transfixed him. The Serbs then took to flight, apparently abandoning all thought of renewing their attack.¹¹⁶

With the morning came a fog so dense that the duke would not break camp until after the sun had begun to disperse the mists. His prudence was well advised; for, during all the rest of that day, the pilgrims as they moved on could see the Serbs in distant ambush, watching for opportunity to effect some capture. But no further attack was attempted, and the remainder of the journey through the Bulgarian Forest proved uneventful. In Nish, the duke and his following were received with honor and sumptuously entertained at the expense of Emperor Manuel—facts which presuppose previous announcement of the expedition to Manuel by messenger and his issuance of instructions concerning it to the local officials.¹¹⁷ Our travelers proceeded under escort to Philip-

hostibus occupata et militem unum mortuum, sagitta percussum, et servos duos, quorum alter usque ad medium diem supervixit et mortuus est. Tela enim habent toxicata, et quicquid vulneraverint mortem evadere non potest." The fact that one of the mentioned *servi* survived until midday was obviously not reported at the moment visualized in this passage.

¹¹⁶ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Audit igitur tam tristi nuntio [cf. the preceding note], subiti missi sunt ad castra episcopi viginti milites loricati, qui venientes hostes fortiter cedendo premebant, et unus balista feriens nutu Dei e regione percussit ducem illorum et transfodit eum. Illo cadente alii fugam inierunt, et non adiecerunt ulterius impetere castra ducis." If we assume, with Laurent and Wattenbach (German trans. of Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 13), that "unus" in this passage modifies "balista"—despite the fact that *balista* in classical usage is feminine—it would seem to follow that "e regione" must mean "in the opposite (i.e., wrong) direction," since it cannot be supposed that the pilgrims had encumbered themselves with catapults (cf. above, n. 106), as the rendering by Laurent and Wattenbach implies.

¹¹⁷ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17-18: "Facto autem mane, orta est nebula densissima; et precepit dux ne castra moverent, donec deficeret nebula. Cum vero sol incaluisset, profecti sunt et viderunt eminus hostes tota die insidiantes, si aliquem ex eis rapere potuissent, et sic illesi transito nemore tenuerunt civitatem Niceam. Ubi dux honorifice susceptus est, et lautissime ministratum est ei et omnibus suis de impensa regia." Cf. above, nn. 104 and 105.

popolis and Adrianople;¹¹⁸ and on Good Friday, which in the year 1172 fell on April 14, they reached an unnamed locality in the environs of the Byzantine capital, where they lingered for nearly two days.¹¹⁹

According to previous interpretation, the sojourn outside Constantinople was dictated chiefly or exclusively by religious considerations—by the wish of the Germans to pass Good Friday and Holy Saturday in quiet devotion.¹²⁰ It is here suggested, without invidious reflection on the piety of our pilgrims, that the postponement of their entry into the city may well have been due to Byzantine astuteness.¹²¹ Emperor Manuel, it appears, desired to impress upon the minds of these Germans immoderate ideas of his wealth and magnificence.¹²² Yet neither Good Friday nor Holy Saturday could

¹¹⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 18: "Inde [i.e., from Nish] deductus est Andernopolim, deinde Vinopolim," etc. According to Lappenberg (*ibid.*, n. 3), "Vinopolim" in this context cannot be Philippopolis; and Röhrich (*Beiträge*, II, 112) identified it with the ancient Phinopolis (on the Bosporus, to the north of Byzantium). But a later passage in Arnold's chronicle (Book IV, chap. ix, pp. 132-33) clearly shows that by "Vinopolim" the author means Philippopolis. Our conclusion, therefore, must be that the names "Andernopolim" and "Vinopolim" were inadvertently misplaced in the passage here quoted and should be transposed. See esp. Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 13, n. 2 and Giesebrecht, VI, 500; cf. Heydel, p. 76 and n. 435.

¹¹⁹ Arnold, Book I, chap. iii, p. 18: "et ita [i.e., from Adrianople; cf. the preceding note] profecti in parasceue venerunt prope Constantinopolim. Ibique celebrantes dominicam passionem et sabbatum sanctum," etc. Cf. Heydel, p. 76. It is obvious, of course, that "sabbatum sanctum" in this context designates the Saturday before Easter.

¹²⁰ Cf. Prutz, *loc. cit.*; Giesebrecht, *loc. cit.*; Philippson, p. 386. Wigger (*loc. cit.*), after erroneously indicating that the pilgrims entered Constantinople itself on Good Friday, writes as follows: "Wie anziehend einem Ankömmling aber auch alle Herrlichkeiten Constantinopels erscheinen mochten, der hohe Festtag verbot den Deutschen alle Zerstreungen. In aller Stille feierten die Pilger die Passion des Herrn, und ebenso begingen sie den heiligen Sonnabend vor Ostern." This opinion, I submit, evinces more unction than discernment.

¹²¹ Arnold, it will be observed (cf. above, n. 119), gives no reason why the pilgrims celebrated Good Friday and Holy Saturday outside Constantinople. Since they evidently did *some* traveling on Good Friday (cf. *ibid.*), it is difficult to believe that conscientious scruple would prevent them from entering the city on a holy day.

¹²² Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. iv, p. 18: "et ad ostentandam gloriam divitiarum suarum preceperat rex principibus et optimatibus suis, ut omnes huic sollempnitati [i.e., the reception of Henry the Lion] interessent." Wigger (*loc. cit.*, p. 14) and Philippson (p. 386) note this point but fail to connect it with the tarrying of the pil-

have seemed to him an appropriate day for displaying pomp. We may believe, therefore, that, after Henry the Lion in accordance with German custom had sent forward gifts to the basileus—robes of scarlet and fine linen vestments, cuirasses and swords, beautiful horses with saddles and caparisons¹²³—and the bishop of Worms had duly announced himself as envoy of the Holy Roman emperor,¹²⁴ Manuel communicated to the distinguished visitors his pleasure to receive them about the middle of the forenoon on Easter Sunday.¹²⁵ The basileus had decided, as is evident from the arrangements actually made, that it would be extraordinarily effective to have a splendid reception of the Saxon duke immediately precede a gorgeous celebration of Easter. Summonses to be in attendance at the event were issued to the Byzantine aristocracy;¹²⁶ and the Hippodrome—in which, undoubtedly, the ceremonies of the reception took place¹²⁷—was made resplendent

grims *prope Constantinopolim*. On the personality and interests of Manuel Comnenus, see Charles Diehl, *La Société byzantine à l'époque des Comnènes* (Paris, 1929), pp. 13–18; Chalandon, pp. 200 ff.

¹²³ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. iii: “Premiserat autem dux munera multa et optima iuxta morem terre nostre, equos pulcerrimos sellatos et vestitos, loricas, gladios, vestes de scarlacco et vestes lineas tenuissimas.” Though this passage follows the words, “ascenderunt curiam regis” (see below, n. 129), yet the pluperfect tense of “premierat” indicates that Henry’s gifts arrived at the Byzantine court well in advance of their donor—probably on one of the two preceding days.

¹²⁴ This point is not mentioned in our sources. But the envoy could scarcely have failed officially to notify Manuel of his arrival.

¹²⁵ Cf. below, n. 129. Röhrich’s statement (*Beiträge*, II, 112), that Henry was pompously received at the imperial residence on April 14 (Good Friday), is unfounded.

¹²⁶ See above, n. 122.

¹²⁷ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. iv: “Erat autem in eodem loco [i.e., apparently, in the immediate neighborhood of the *curia regis*; see below, n. 129] *curia venationis* latissima et planissima, murata”; etc. It has been variously conjectured that these words describe the hunting park Philopation (Böttiger, p. 285 and n. 313; cf. Prutz, p. 271; Röhrich, *Beiträge*, II, 112; Giesebrecht, V, 696), the courtyard of the imperial palace (Philippson, pp. 386–87), or the Hippodrome (Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 14). How a courtyard could be called “*curia venationis*” is difficult to see; and one does not readily imagine Manuel Comnenus solemnly receiving Henry the Lion in a park, “où il y avait des bêtes sauvages et qui permettait à l’empereur de se livrer au plai-

with brilliant decorations, including a numerous array of purpled cotton-and-linen tents with gilded tops, variously ornamented according to the magnificence of their prospective occupants.¹²⁸

The pilgrims rose at an early hour on Easter. Having assisted at mass celebrated by their own clergy, they partook of a repast, then proceeded to the imperial palace, and so to the Hippodrome.¹²⁹ Manuel, decked in imperial regalia and attended by his princes and optimates, was awaiting their arrival. After a glorious reception to Henry the Lion the solemn Easter procession began, in which emperor and duke

sir de la chasse" (the quoted words are those of Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 27). It is well to remember in this connection that *venatio* may mean not only "hunting" but also "a hunting spectacle" and even "a combat of wild beasts, exhibited to the people" (see *Harpers' Latin Dictionary*, ed. C. T. Lewis and C. Short [New York, Cincinnati, Chicago; copyright 1907], *s.v.*). For on the last two definitions of this term, the expression *curia venationis* seems a not inappropriate appellation for the Hippodrome—which, moreover, unquestionably was "latissima et planissima, murata." We know, too, that though the Comneni had transferred their residence from the Palace of Constantine (the Bucoleon) on the Bosphorus to the Palace of Blachernae on the Golden Horn, yet on occasion they repaired still to the Hippodrome for official ceremonies (Diehl, pp. 23–24); and in 1171, King Amalric I of Jerusalem was received by Manuel in the "imperiale palatium, quod Constantinianum appellatur" (William of Tyre, Book XX, chap. xxiii, *loc. cit.*, p. 983), i.e., the Bucoleon (cf. René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, II [Paris, 1935], 574; Chalandon, pp. 547–49). It seems altogether probable, therefore, that Arnold means by *curia regis* the Bucoleon, and by *curia venationis* the Hippodrome; and the adjacent church to which he refers (see below, n. 130) would then logically be St. Sophia.

¹²⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Videres igitur illic [*sc. in curia venationis*] tentoria innu-mera erecta, bissina, purpurea, cum capitibus aureis, et pro uniuscuiusque magnificentia vario decore ornata." See also below, n. 130. That the "tentoria" were real tents set up on the ground of the Hippodrome—and not mere awnings over the spectators' boxes, as Böttiger (p. 285, n. 313) thought possible—may perhaps follow from the fact that the procession is said to have moved forward to the most magnificent of the tents (see below, n. 130); but Arnold's vagueness makes impossible a definite conclusion on this point.

¹²⁹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. iii: "mane in die resurrectionis, peractis sollempniter mysteriis et prandio facto, ascenderunt curiam regis." The *prandium* here mentioned must have been a breakfast; for it preceded the solemn high mass in St. Sophia (see the next note), which could not have been celebrated after the hour of noon. When allowance is made for the time consumed by the reception of Henry the Lion, the Easter procession, and the subsequent mass, it seems likely that the pilgrims arrived at the imperial palace not later than ten o'clock.

walked side by side, preceded by the clergy and followed by the German knights. The *cortège* moved—from the Church of St. Sophia, apparently—along a path covered with purple, above which was suspended a brocaded canopy ornamented with golden lamps and wreaths, to a golden tent glistening from top to bottom with gems and precious stones; then it returned by the same path to the church, where solemn high mass was to be celebrated. Manuel mounted his raised throne; beside him, on a lower throne, he seated Henry the Lion.¹³⁰

After dinner when the emperor “was merry with the duke,” Bishop Conrad of Worms (the envoy) and his episcopal namesake of Lübeck began to discuss with the more lettered Greek prelates the apparently irresistible question of the procession of the Holy Spirit.¹³¹ It would be of interest to know whether the discussion had been arranged for a political purpose, or was only an intellectual diversion.

¹³⁰ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. iv, pp. 18–19: “Rex igitur indutus ornatu regio cum summis pontificibus et principibus et optimatibus prestolabatur adventum ducis. Erat autem in eodem loco curia venationis. . . . Veniens igitur dux gloriose susceptus est, et quia processionis sollempnitas instabat, procedebat rex cum duce. Erat autem strata semita quedam tota purpurea et desuper tecta aurifrigiis et ornata aureis lampadibus et coronis. Hanc incedebat statio clericorum et pontificum, prosequente rege cum duce et militibus tantum peregrinis. Et ita procedebant ad tentorium aureum, quod totum incanduit gemmis et lapidibus preciosis. Inde per eandem viam reversi sunt ad ecclesiam, et collocatus est rex in throno suo excelso, et dux in alio iuxta eum, et missarum sollempnia celebrabantur.” The “strata semita,” which Böttiger (*loc. cit.*) believed to be “ein Porticus oder Säulengang,” I will not attempt to identify. Wigger’s view (*loc. cit.*, pp. 14–15), that by “tentorium aureum” the “goldene Saal” is meant, seems very dubious; in all likelihood the reference is to the imperial tent (cf. Giesebrecht, V, 696). It also is impossible to agree with Philippson (p. 387), that the “militibus . . . peregrinis” were “eine Abteilung der Warägergarde”; for Arnold constantly uses the word *peregrinatio* to designate the pilgrimage, and in one place (*loc. cit.*, chap. vii, p. 22) he refers to Henry the Lion’s following as “exercitu illo peregrino.” That the Easter procession began at the church (no doubt St. Sophia; cf. above, n. 127 *ad fin.*) seems to be indicated by the words “per eandem viam reversi sunt ad ecclesiam,” in the passage cited in this note.

¹³¹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. v, p. 19: “Igitur post meridiem cum rex cum duce letior esset, movit questionem domum Wormaciensis una cum Lubicense cum litteratioribus Grecorum de processione Spiritus sancti.” Manuel’s interest both in dinners and in theology is interestingly elucidated by Diehl (*op. cit.*, pp. 31–33).

Neither Conrad of Worms nor Conrad of Lübeck appears to have made any large effort to persuade the Greeks: they merely presented and briefly explained the Western dogma of the double procession of the Holy Spirit;¹³² and the Greeks contradicted them because their citation of authorities seemed inadequate and unconvincing. We are given to understand that, if the discussion did not end in stalemate, it was largely because Abbot Henry of Brunswick—whom the chronicler Arnold lauds as a very learned and eloquent man, and who may, perhaps, be regarded as theological spokesman for Henry the Lion—eventually undertook to champion the doctrine of the West. Having modestly reminded his hearers that it was heresy to deny that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, the abbot quoted half a dozen passages from the New Testament in support of the double procession and went on to show that this doctrine had been professed by various doctors of the Eastern church, among them Athanasius, John Chrysostom, and Cyril. These citations, especially those from the Eastern Fathers, allegedly proved so convincing to the Greeks that they at last conceded the point at issue. Had Manuel, with a view of pleasing Henry the Lion, perhaps instructed the Byzantine theologians thus to pay homage to the abbot of Brunswick's skill in debate? The emperor and his prelates are said highly to have extolled Abbot Henry, praising his learning and giving no little credence to his words.¹³³

¹³² *Ibid.*: "Dicunt enim Greci. . . . Opponentibus autem illis [i.e., the bishops of Worms and Lübeck]."

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20: "Grecis adhuc contradicentibus, quasi plenius auctoritatibus nondum conclusi, abbas Heinricus [on his standing with Henry the Lion, see *ibid.*, chap. xiii, p. 31], vir litteratissimus et facundissimus, modeste incoans: 'Non erretis,' ait. . . . His aliisque auctoritatibus, maxime suis, non valebant contradicere magistri Grecorum, concedentes Spiritum sanctum procedere a Patre et Filio. Et magnificatus est abbas Heinricus in conspectu regis et pontificum, collaudantes doctrinam eius et fidem non modicam adhibentes verbis illius." As far as I can see, there is no reason to suppose, with Giesebrecht (V, 696), that Manuel and Henry the Lion did not attend the discussion of the theologians. Wigger (*loc. cit.*, p. 15) thought it possible that Manuel's lively interest in theology and his tendency to favor reunion of

Of any negotiations conducted by Henry the Lion at this time we have no reliable evidence. The Byzantine historian John Cinnamus does, it is true, credit "the duke of the Saxons" with having come to Constantinople for the purpose of reconciling "the king of the Alemanni" to Byzantium, and he adds that the duke "transacted all the business on which he came."¹³⁴ But Cinnamus no doubt has mistakenly assigned to Henry the Lion the embassy which Frederick Barbarossa had intrusted to Bishop Conrad of Worms.¹³⁵ On the other hand, though we may suspect with good reason that an ulterior purpose lay behind the splendid reception given the duke, yet there is nothing to show that Manuel on this occasion made any direct attempt to draw Henry into a compact.¹³⁶ He may have deemed it prudent to defer such venture until the duke should visit him again, on the home-

the churches led him to suggest the discussion. The opinion I have expressed is based on the consideration that Manuel may have had in view a more immediate as well as an ultimate objective. Philippson (p. 387) treats this whole matter quite superficially.

¹³⁴ *Loc. cit.* (above, n. 36): "ὕπὸ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους καὶ Σαξόνων ὁ δούξ, ἔθνος πολυανθρωποτάτου καὶ εὐδαίμονος, σὺν μεγίστῃ παρασκευῇ ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ῥῆγμα Ἀλαμανῶν διαλλάξειεν (ὕποψία γὰρ πολλὴ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο), πάντα τε ὧν ἔνεκα ἦλθε διαπεπραγμένος ἀπηλλάσσεται." Kap-Herr's misrendering (p. 100) of the parenthetical clause in this passage is corrected by Gronen (p. 45, n. 2). See also Giesebrecht, VI, 502. Cf. *Ann. Palid., loc. cit.* (above, n. 30): "Heinricus dux perrexit Ierosolimam, multo comitatu per Greciam agens iter"; and *Chron. regia Colon., loc. cit.* (above, n. 33): "Heinricus dux Saxonum Iherosolimam . . . tetendit, . . . et a rege Constantinopolitano honorifice susceptus et magnifice dimissus est."

¹³⁵ See Du Cange's comment on the passage in Cinnamus' *Epitome* quoted in the preceding note (*loc. cit.*, p. 393). Du Cange, however, is evidently in error when he says of Henry the Lion, "ad Manuëlem divertit sub legationis specie"; for nothing indicates that Manuel received Henry as Frederick's envoy (cf. Gronen, p. 126). It will be recalled that Conrad of Worms ostensibly was to negotiate the marriage of Frederick's son to a daughter of Manuel. Though the immediate outcome of Conrad's negotiations can be only conjectured, in the end they were without result (see Kap-Herr, p. 101; Giesebrecht, V, 680-81; Chalandon, p. 597). Is it possible that Manuel understood from the first that the marriage offer was only a sham, and that for this reason he hesitated not to heap honor on Henry the Lion in the very presence of Frederick's envoy? Certain it is that the duke, if he chose, could have informed the basileus of Frederick's duplicity (cf. above, pp. 169-70 and n. 89).

¹³⁶ Cf. Giesebrecht, V, 702.

ward journey¹³⁷—by which time the envoy of Barbarossa presumably would have returned to Germany. Meanwhile, however, the basileus lost no opportunity of gratifying his Saxon guest. Before our pilgrims resumed their travel, the empress Maria presented to Henry the Lion enough velvet to clothe all his knights, and in addition she gave each knight some varicolored pelts and a small sable skin. Manuel placed at the duke's disposal a very strong ship, copiously supplied with all the necessities for a voyage to Acre.¹³⁸

It is usually assumed that Henry the Lion had with him on the ship now mentioned all the men who previously had been his traveling companions, with exception of Bishop Conrad of Worms and the members of Conrad's escort.¹³⁹ The error of this assumption has already been clarified.¹⁴⁰ If Arnold is correct in stating that only one ship was used,¹⁴¹ our inference must be that the *servi* and some *ministeriales* did not accompany the duke on the journey beyond Constantinople. There is no reliable evidence that any of the pilgrims traveled

¹³⁷ Cf. below, pp. 204–5, 212–13.

¹³⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. v, pp. 20–21: “Regina autem donavit duci samittos plurimos, ita ut omnes milites suos vestiret samittis, quibus addidit regina cuilibet militi pelles varias et pelliculam zobilinam.” *Ibid.*, chap. vi, p. 21: “Porro rex dedit ei navem firmissimam necessariis omnibus copiose ditatam, et ingrediens dux cum suis navigare cepit.” The “regina” (cf. above, n. 98 *ad fin.*) is of course Maria of Antioch, Manuel's second wife, whom he had married on December 25, 1161 (see Diehl, p. 37; Chalandon, p. 523). Whether the ship was furnished gratis by Manuel, or was rented, cannot be determined. The sequel shows that its destination was Acre. See also below, n. 141.

¹³⁹ Cf. Prutz, p. 272; Giesebrecht, V, 697; Philippson, p. 387; Heydel, p. 76. None of these even suggests as a possibility that Henry may have left part of his following in Constantinople. Wigger (*loc. cit.*, p. 16) was better advised when he wrote: “ein einziges Schiff . . . fasste die Theilnehmer an der Ueberfahrt nach dem Heil. Lande.”

¹⁴⁰ Cf. above, p. 166 and n. 77.

¹⁴¹ Cf. above, n. 138, second citation. Throughout his account of the voyage from Constantinople to Acre (cf. above, n. 20; below, n. 148) Arnold uses the word *navis* in the singular number; but in describing the voyage down the Danube (cf. above, nn. 90 and 98), on which it is certain that several ships were utilized, he employs the same term in the plural. As already suggested (above, n. 77) the ship in question may have been a *buza*.

by land from the Bosphorus to Acre;¹⁴² and we have specific testimony that Henry's men (as distinct from the duke himself?) left their horses behind¹⁴³—presumably in the place near Constantinople where they had arrived on Good Friday.¹⁴⁴ In this same place, we may believe, the *servi*, under the supervision of certain *ministeriales*, awaited the return of their betters from Palestine.

The maritime voyage was not without its perils, even though the latter perhaps are magnified somewhat by Arnold, who, like most of the pilgrims, had probably little if any experience of travel by sea.¹⁴⁵ One night a tempest arose, which avowedly became so severe that all feared immediate death.¹⁴⁶ While gravely uneasy at the prospect, one of the pilgrims—he is described as “a man of good conversation,” and, as we have seen, may be identified with the chronicler Arnold himself—fell asleep and dreamed that he beheld at his side a beautiful virgin, who gave assurance that, because of incessant prayers directed to her by a certain individual on that ship, they would all be freed from the threatening danger. The virgin did not mention the name of him who had thus implored her aid, but the recipient of the vision understood that she had referred to Abbot Henry.¹⁴⁷ Fortunately, the dream proved not deceptive, though for a time it seemed so to be. For when day broke, the fury of the gale increased

¹⁴² The chronicler of Cologne seems to have been under the false impression that Henry's expedition proceeded entirely by land; for he says (*loc. cit.*, above, n. 33): “Heinricus dux Saxonum Iherosolimam . . . tetendit, felici prorsus usus et honesta per terram profectione et reditu. Nam in eundo nullas Turcorum passus est insidias.”

¹⁴³ See below, n. 196 *ad init.*

¹⁴⁴ Cf. above, n. 119.

¹⁴⁵ Pribislav (see above, n. 57) may have been one of the few among the passengers likely to be accustomed to maritime adventure. See Wigger, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴⁶ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. vi, p. 21: “Et factus est motus magnus in mari, ita ut pre nimia tempestate omnes mortem sibi proximam formidarent.” See also below, n. 148. Just where the tempest was encountered we cannot determine. Wigger (*loc. cit.*) thought it was in the Sea of Marmora.

¹⁴⁷ See above, n. 20.

and the waves tossed the ship hither and yon until it eventually was driven into a narrows with sharp rocks on either side. Even the sailors now became fearful, while the pilgrims recalled their previous plight in the narrows of the Danube. But at the moment when alarm was greatest the mariners espied an opening between the rocks, and as they steered their course thither the gale died down. Presently the ship passed through, undamaged, and the pilgrims "praised the Lord, who killeth and maketh alive, who bringeth down to Hades and bringeth up."¹⁴⁸

Though a magnificent welcome was given Henry the Lion at Acre, he seems to have tarried in this city only long enough to procure mounts for the further journey. Horses or mules were furnished to most of the pilgrims, but some found it necessary or desirable to make use of donkeys. The news of Henry's coming no doubt sped on before him to Jerusalem. For he was met on the way by a grand troop of Templars and Hospitallers, who after paying respects to the duke gave him escort into the Holy City; and the clergy of Jerusalem greeted his arrival with hymns and praises of God.¹⁴⁹

The contemporary Norman chronicler, Robert of Torigni, credits Henry the Lion with having initiated "great things" in Jerusalem, and he expresses the opinion that Henry per-

¹⁴⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Nec fefellit visio. Denique facto die invalescebant procelle, et navis in medio mari iactabatur fluctibus. Et inciderunt in periculum marinum, ut superius in Danubio, quod dicitur skere [cf. above, nn. 96 and 98], et timuerunt naute vehementer. Erant autem ibi petre acutissime a dextris et a sinistris, et navis in medio. Cumque nimis turbarentur, aspexerunt naute lapides patentés quasi hostium, et direxerunt velum contra ipsum, et ecce cecidit spiritus procelle et siluerunt fluctus eius, et subito navis illesa pertransiit, et laudaverunt Dominum, qui mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit [I Sam. 2:6]."

¹⁴⁹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. vii, pp. 21-22: "Dux igitur applicans ad Accaron vel Accon magnifice susceptus est ab Accaronitis vel Acconitis, et ascensis equis, rabis, mulis, quidam etiam asinis, processerunt ad urbem Ierosolimitanam, et occurrerunt eis Templarii et Hospitalarii cum grandi comitatu, et honestissime suscipientes ducem duxerunt in sanctam civitatem, et susceptus est a clero cum hymnis et laudibus Dei." Lappenberg (*ibid.*, p. 22, n. 1; cf. *MGH SS*, XXI, 121, n. 57) suggests that "rabis" may designate Arabian horses. Whether the mounts mentioned in this passage were sold, rented, or loaned gratis to the pilgrims remains uncertain.

haps would have brought to completion what he began if the king (Amalric I, 1162-74) and the Templars had not opposed him. Unfortunately, the chronicler fails to indicate what the "great things" were, though his next sentence clearly implies that he is referring to something besides granting money to churches and paupers.¹⁵⁰ His statement has been assumed to mean that the jealousy of Amalric and the Templars prevented Henry the Lion from setting on foot a campaign he had planned against the Levantine Moslems.¹⁵¹ Whatever Robert may have had in mind, there are sufficient reasons why his assertion should be considered erroneous: in the first place, it utterly lacks corroboration in other evidence; second, the testimony of Arnold would indicate that Henry's relations with Amalric and the Templars remained friendly throughout the period of his sojourn in Palestine; and, finally, since the authorities in the kingdom of Jerusalem had but recently been imploring aid from Europe, we may presume that they would have welcomed an attack on their enemies by so experienced a warrior as Henry the Lion.¹⁵²

If the sequence of events as reported by Arnold is correct, the duke after his arrival in Jerusalem concerned himself first with presentation of gifts. He dedicated to the Holy Sepulcher a large sum of money.¹⁵³ The chapel in which the Franks

¹⁵⁰ *Loc. cit.* (above, n. 35): "Henricus, dux Saxonum et Baiarum, . . . perrexit Jerusalem cum magno comitatu militum, et magna ibi incepisset, et forsitan incepta perfecisset, nisi rex et Templarii obstitissent. Thesauros tamen, quos secum portaverat, larga manu distribuit pauperibus et ecclesiis Sanctae Terrae."

¹⁵¹ See Philippon, pp. 383, 388, 612, n. d; Röhricht, *Beiträge*, II, 113.

¹⁵² On Henry's relations with Amalric and the Templars, see below, nn. 162, 164, 171. William of Tyre (Book XX, chap. xxv, p. 988) reports the appeal for European aid. Cf. Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerusalem*, pp. 343-44, 352; Giesebrecht, V, 702-3; VI, 502.

¹⁵³ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 22: "Optulit autem dux ad sanctum sepulcrum pecuniam multam," etc. *Ann. Egmond.*, *loc. cit.* (above, n. 34): "dux Saxoniae Henricus . . . Jerusalem profectus, sepulchrum Domini et loca sanctorum sua munificentia honoravit," etc. See also the statement of Robert of Torigni cited above, n. 150 *ad fin.* The money presumably was placed at the disposal of the canons of the Holy Sepulcher, or the patriarch of Jerusalem, or both (cf. below, Appen., n. 14).

preserved their portion of what was believed to be the wood of the Holy Cross he caused to be decorated with mosaic work, and he had its doors overlaid with purest silver.¹⁵⁴ In the diploma issued by Henry at Jerusalem¹⁵⁵ we have unimpeachable evidence that he established an endowment for three "perpetual" lamps,¹⁵⁶ to be placed, respectively, before the Holy Sepulcher,¹⁵⁷ before (the altar in the chapel of?) the Lord's Passion on the place of Calvary,¹⁵⁸ and before the

¹⁵⁴ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "et basilicam in qua lignum Domini repositum est ornavit [dux] musivo opere et ostia eiusdem basilice vestivit argento purissimo." Cf. the citation from the *Ann. Egmond.* in the preceding note. Another portion of the *Lignum Domini* was kept by the Syrians, in a chapel of their own situated opposite the chapel of the Franks, both chapels being within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (see John of Würzburg, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* [ca. 1160-70], chap. xiii, in Titus Tobler [ed.], *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII. IX. XII. et XV.* [Leipzig, 1874], p. 152; also Theoderich, chap. ix, *loc. cit.* [above, n. 77], pp. 23-24. Arnold refers, of course, to the chapel of the Franks, which he calls a "basilica" (cf. Heydel, p. 77, n. 442a). The fact that the pilgrim Theoderich found the chapel of the Franks "musivo opere mirabiliter . . . decorata" (see *loc. cit.*) clearly implies that he visited the holy places *after* Henry the Lion, i.e., in the spring of 1173 or 1174, rather than 1172 (cf. above, n. 51).

¹⁵⁵ See the Appendix (below, pp. 220-22).

¹⁵⁶ Arnold says (*loc. cit.*): "Deputavit [dux] etiam redditus annuos ad cereos comparandos, iugiter ad sanctum sepulcrum arsuos"; and he makes no mention of lamps. Hence we must either (1) credit the duke with having established two analogous endowments for the Church of the Holy Sepulcher or (2) assume that Arnold has mistaken the lamps for wax tapers. Philippson (p. 388), without discussing the problem, accepts the first alternative. In support of this view one might adduce the fact that wax tapers as well as lamps were made use of for purposes of perpetual lighting in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (see the statement of an anonymous Icelandic pilgrim cited by Tobler in his ed. of John of Würzburg, *loc. cit.*, pp. 437-38); also, that Arnold's statement refers to the Holy Sepulcher only, whereas the diploma specifies two other places at which lamps were to be installed. Nevertheless, the considerations favoring the second alternative seem on the whole more weighty. Arnold evidently desired to record all of Henry the Lion's important donations in Palestine. He may easily have confused candles with lamps and forgotten that three different places in the church were to be illumined; but it appears very unlikely that he would have overlooked or been ignorant of an endowment, which the duke caused to be described with so great punctilio in a formal diploma, and the establishment of which was witnessed not only by several of Henry's foremost men but even by the patriarch of Jerusalem himself. Cf. Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 17 and n. 3 (the note extends to p. 18).

¹⁵⁷ John of Würzburg (*loc. cit.*, chap. xii, p. 148) and Theoderich (chap. v., *loc. cit.*, p. 14) refer to numerous lamps illuminating the Holy Sepulcher.

¹⁵⁸ John of Würzburg (*loc. cit.*, chap. x, pp. 144-45) and Theoderich (*loc. cit.*, chap. xii, pp. 28-30) seem to indicate that the place of Calvary was included within

wood of the Holy Cross.¹⁵⁹ It is set forth in the diploma that the endowment consisted of certain houses¹⁶⁰ contiguous to the wall of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher—houses, which Duke Henry with the consent of King Amalric had bought from one Michael Turbitor for five hundred bezants, and which yielded annual rents amounting to twenty bezants. According to a promise made to Henry by the patriarch of Jerusalem and the cathedral chapter of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the income from the endowment would be used each year to purchase oil for the lamps, and these would burn day and night. In addition, Henry made at least two considerable donations to the Templars and Hospitallers: a large assortment of arms, and one thousand silver marks to be used in purchasing landed estates for the maintenance of recruits in time of war.¹⁶¹

The duke and his men, during their first sojourn in Jerusalem, were feasted by King Amalric for three days in the royal residence.¹⁶² Afterward, they betook themselves to the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the Mount of Olives, to Bethlehem and even to Nazareth, visiting all the holy places in these several

the area of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and that it was marked out by a chapel which had an altar dedicated to the Lord's Passion. Theoderich states (*ibid.*, p. 29) that, because the chapel was darkened by "circumstantes fabricas," its beautiful mosaics with texts from Scripture could not be clearly seen. If Theoderich visited this chapel in the spring of 1173 or 1174 (cf. above, n. 154 *ad fin.*), his observation implies that the lamp provided by Henry the Lion did not illumine the texts sufficiently to make them legible.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Prutz (p. 272; p. 461, No. 138) and Heydel (p. 76; p. 137, No. 62) speak of *two* houses. The word *domos* in the diploma lacks a numerical modifier.

¹⁶¹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Templariis quoque et Hospitalariis dedit dona et arma plurima et mille marcas argenti ad comparanda predia quibus tyrones teneantur tempore belli."

¹⁶² *Ibid.*: "Rex autem in domo propria fecit ei [*sc. duci*] cum suis convivium per triduum." Though Heydel (p. 76) and others seem to think so, it does not necessarily follow from this statement that Henry's first sojourn in Jerusalem was limited to the three days spent in *convivium*. Ann. Egmond., *loc. cit.* (above, n. 34): "dux Saxoniae Henricus, . . . magnifice susceptus a rege et patriarcha, cum honorerediit ad sua."

localities.¹⁶³ A detail of Templars conducted them through the insecure border region of the Jordan,¹⁶⁴ and from thence they turned westward to ascend the mountain called Quarantana, situated near Jericho and believed to be the scene of Christ's forty-day fast and his first temptation by the devil.¹⁶⁵ In each holy place visited, devotions were performed by Abbot Henry, whose zealous piety and dutiful asceticism are reverently remarked by Arnold. Throughout the whole pilgrimage, says our chronicler, Abbot Henry failed not any morning before travel was resumed to supplicate the Blessed Virgin, or to offer up the salvation-bringing Host for himself and the entire pilgrim troop; and now, though with great difficulty because of bodily exhaustion, he climbed even to the summit of Mount Quarantana and celebrated there the divine office.¹⁶⁶

When Henry the Lion returned to Jerusalem, the patriarch for some unexplained reason detained him in the city two days.¹⁶⁷ Henry then went back to Acre, where he bade fare-

¹⁶³ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Visitatis igitur omnibus locis sanctis in Iosaphat, in monte Oliveti, in Bethlehem, in Nazareth," etc.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: "abiit [dux] ad Iordanem, deducens eum Templariis." Arnold's subsequent references, in the same paragraph, to Abbot Henry, "castra," and "omni exercitu illo peregrino" (cf. below, n. 166) seem to imply that the other pilgrims accompanied the duke on his tour of Palestine. Cf. *Historia de duce Hinrico* (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 45], p. 243): "visitavit dux cum suis omnia loca, in quibus Christus steterat," etc. Turning eastward from Nazareth, the pilgrims would reach the Jordan just below the Sea of Tiberias. From there they evidently journeyed southward along the Jordan to a point not far from Jericho. Theoderich (chap. xxviii, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69-70) states that it was a practice of the Templars and also of the Hospitallers, "peregrinis ad Iordanem pergentibus conductum facere, et ne in eundo vel redeundo sive ibi pernctando a Saracenis laedantur, illis providere."

¹⁶⁵ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "et [dux] inde [i.e., from the Jordan] ascendit Quarentenam." Mount Quarantana is graphically described by Theoderich (chap. xxix, *loc. cit.*, pp. 70-72); cf. John of Würzburg, chap. xx, *loc. cit.*, p. 175; *Annales Stadenses* (ed. J. M. Lappenbergh), *MGH SS*, XVI (1859), 341. Tobler (*loc. cit.*, pp. 208-9) has a long list of other descriptions of this mountain; see also Röhrich, *Beiträge*, II, 124, n. 21.

¹⁶⁶ See above, n. 18, second citation.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. viii: "Dux autem regressus est Ierosolimam, et detinuit eum illic domnus patriarcha duobus diebus." The fact that the *Historia de duce Hinrico* (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 45], p. 243) makes it *three* days, is, of course, inconsequential. See also above, n. 162 *ad fin.*

well to all homeward-bound pilgrims who were not of his company and likewise to two of his own men, namely, Bishop Conrad of Lübeck and Abbot Bertold of Luneburg.¹⁶⁸ For the duke, instead of voyaging by sea from Acre as was usual, had chosen to return by the land route, directing his course first to Antioch.¹⁶⁹ Abbot Henry accompanied him, as did evidently most of the men who had come with him to Palestine, including the chronicler Arnold.¹⁷⁰ The travelers were escorted on this piece of journey—which led past the realm of the Assassins and, in general, through regions that were not too secure—by a large force of Templars.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 22–23: “Inde reversus [dux] in Accaron vel Accon, et ita valedicens omnibus, etiam suis, Conrado videlicet episcopo et Bertoldo abbati, profectus est,” etc. Philippson (pp. 388–89) and Heydel (p. 77) assume that Henry the Lion parted company at Acre with most of the men who had gone with him to Palestine, these having arranged to return to Constantinople by sea. Arnold’s statement, however, would seem to imply that, except for Conrad, Bertold, and possibly a few others not mentioned by name, the persons to whom Henry bade farewell were not his men. The identity of the group in question remains uncertain. It may have included the citizens of Acre (see Giesebrecht, V, 698, and cf. above, n. 149); but there is greater likelihood, it seems to me, that this group consisted for the most part of pilgrims who were not of Henry the Lion’s company but who had visited the Holy Land at the same time he did and were now homeward bound. The account of Theoderich (see above, n. 51) shows beyond peradventure that pilgrims came to Palestine at this epoch in very large numbers. Several thousand, we may believe, were waiting in Acre for passage on the Mediterranean when Henry the Lion set out from that city on his journey northward through Syria. Wigger suggests (*loc. cit.*, p. 19), and correctly no doubt, that Bishop Conrad and Abbot Bertold probably were too exhausted and unwell to attempt the land journey in the intense heat of the summer.

¹⁶⁹ The reason for this choice of route can be only conjectured. Wigger expresses the opinion (*loc. cit.*) that Henry may have desired to visit localities through which Godfrey of Bouillon and the host of the First Crusade had passed—which is possible (cf. below, n. 193). Also, however, Henry may have wished to gain some idea of the real strength of the sultanate of Rûm and to ascertain just why the crusading expedition of Conrad II met disaster in Asia Minor (cf. below, nn. 189 and 192).

¹⁷⁰ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 23: “Heinricus vero abbas cum duce perrexit via qua ceperat.” That our chronicler-monk accompanied the duke now as before (cf. above, pp. 151 ff.) is indicated by his detailed account of the return journey to Constantinople; nor is it likely that he would have separated himself from his abbot (cf. above, n. 12). The sequel shows that at all events the larger part of the pilgrims in Henry’s following continued with him (see below, nn. 175, 179, 183, 188, 195 [*ad init.*]; and cf. Giesebrecht, V, 698).

¹⁷¹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: “[Dux] profectus est Antiochiam, prosequentibus eum Templariis cum turba multa.” Laurent and Wattenbach (German trans. of Arnold,

Bishop Conrad of Lübeck was ill when the duke set forth from Acre, and he afterward felt much aggrieved at his departure. Having certain matters which he wished to communicate to him, Conrad decided that in spite of his illness he would try to overtake the duke. He persuaded Abbot Bertold to go with him, and the two ecclesiastics boarded a bark which took them northward along the Palestinian coast. During the voyage, however, Conrad's ailment grew worse, and on July 17 he died, just as the bark was landing at Tyre.¹⁷² Fortunately, Count Gunzelin and some other friends of the duke were present in Tyre at this time. They saw to it that Conrad's body was brought into the city and given honorable burial.¹⁷³ Abbot Bertold then returned to Acre, where after three days he too breathed his last, on July 24.¹⁷⁴ Of Count Gunzelin and his companions no further mention is

loc. cit., p. 20) render "cum turba multa" as "und eine grosse Menge Menschen." It seems to me that these words are intended rather to indicate the large size of the Templar troop (cf. the expression "cum grandi comitatu"; above, n. 149). On the insecurity of the journey from Acre to Antioch, cf. Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁷² Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Conradus autem episcopus egrotabat infirmitate, qua et mortuus est. Cum autem dux abiisset, domnus episcopus moleste ferens eius discessum, habens etiam quedam negotia ei insinuanda, cum abbate Bertoldo barcam ingrediens, navigio eum insequitur. Crescente autem corporis molestia, cum iam applicarent ad civitatem que Surs vel Tyrus dicitur spiritum reddidit." The date of Conrad's death is given in the *Hist. de duce Hinrico* (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 45], p. 243) as "anno Domini 1172 [,] 16. Kal. Augusti"; and this date is confirmed by the *Necrologium* of the monastery of St. Michael at Luneburg (see A. C. Wedekind, *Noten zu einigen Geschichtschreibern des deutschen Mittelalters*, III [Hamburg, 1836], 52). Cf. Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 19, n. 1; Heydel, p. 77, n. 445. A *barca* ordered to be built at Genoa in 1291 was, according to Jal (*Glossaire nautique*, p. 242, *s.v.*), "une embarcation légère et faite pour les courses rapides."

¹⁷³ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Cuius [*sc.* Conradi] corpus in civitatem [*sc.* Tyrum] perlatum honestissime terre reconditum est, agente Guncelino comite et aliis amicorum ducis, qui presentes fuerunt." This statement hardly supports Philippon's view (p. 389), that Count Gunzelin and the mentioned friends of the duke had voyaged with Bishop Conrad and Abbot Bertold from Acre to Tyre. It may be supposed that Gunzelin and the other friends of the duke made up the rear guard, as it were, of Henry the Lion's following, and had remained for a time in Tyre after the departure of the duke.

¹⁷⁴ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Bertoldus autem abbas rediens Accaron post triduum et ipse vitam finivit." The date is supplied by the *Necrologium* of the monastery of St. Michael at Luneburg (*loc. cit.*, p. 54). Cf. Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 19, n. 2.

made; but it seems likely that they soon rejoined the other pilgrims. In any case, the saddening news of Conrad's and Bertold's deaths was reported to the duke before he reached Antioch.¹⁷⁵

Prince Bohemond III of Antioch (1163-1201), vassal and brother-in-law of Manuel Comnenus, not only received Henry the Lion with becoming courtesy¹⁷⁶ but also assisted him in solving a problem that presently arose with respect to his further journey. The duke had dispatched envoys to Mleh, the then ruler of Cilician Armenia—whom Arnold calls Milo the Saracen¹⁷⁷—with a request that he be furnished safe-con-

¹⁷⁵ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Dux autem hoc [i.e., the deaths of Conrad and Bertold] auditio graviter contristatus est. Heinricus vero abbas cum duce perrexit via qua ceperat." The second sentence would seem to imply that Henry the Lion was informed of the mentioned demises—and, consequently, that he had been joined by Gunzelin and the others who tarried in Tyre (cf. above, n. 173)—before he arrived in Antioch. Probably, therefore, he entered this city accompanied by the entire group of followers who were to proceed with him through Asia Minor.

¹⁷⁶ See below, n. 179. On Bohemond III, see E. Rey, "Résumé chronologique de l'histoire des princes d'Antioche," in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV (1896), 374-86.

¹⁷⁷ See the next note. Mleh was a brother of Thoros II of Cilician Armenia (*Armenia minor*). On the death of Thoros, in 1167 or 1168, his son, Rupen II, was still a minor; and Thomas, son of a sister of Thoros and Mleh, became regent. But Mleh, in alliance with the Saracen Nureddin (Nūr al-Dīn), undertook to displace Thomas and make himself ruler of Armenia. This project eventually proved successful, Thomas fleeing the land and Rupen being assassinated. Though responsibility for the murder of Rupen cannot with certainty be placed upon Mleh, there is little doubt that the latter was a prince of rather reprobate character. Mleh had been a Templar at one time but had broken his vows and become very hostile to the Order, even expelling its members from Cilicia. He hesitated not to waylay and rob travelers, or to sell Christian captives to the infidels. That he ever accepted the Islamic faith seems, indeed, unlikely; but, in view of his alliance with Nureddin and his animosity toward the Templars, it is quite understandable that he should have come to be considered a Mohammedan convert—as the designation *Saracenus*, given him by Arnold, clearly shows he was. Perhaps the best modern account of the career of Mleh is that of F. Tournèize, in his *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1900), pp. 180-82, where the source materials are cited. Among these latter, see esp. William of Tyre (Book XX, chaps. xxv and xxvi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 988, 990-92) and Vahram (*Chronicle of the Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia*, Eng. trans. by C. F. Neumann, in *Translations from the Chinese and Armenian*, Part II [London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1831], pp. 31, 40-41; French trans. by S. Bedrosian, *Chronique du royaume arménien de la Cilicie à l'époque des croisades* [Paris, 1864], pp. 9 and 14). Cf. Grousset, *op. cit.*, [above n. 127], II, 566-69, 580-83; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerusalem*, p. 354 (n. 2), 355 (n. 1); *idem*, *Beiträge*, II,

duct through his land; whereupon Mleh sent twenty of his leading nobles to assure Henry of his entire readiness to conduct him through his realm peacefully and with honor. Henry, however, learned that a fraudulent purpose lay behind the fair promise, and in consequence he decided not to risk a journey through Mleh's dominion.¹⁷⁸ He accepted, instead, an offer of Bohemond III to provide ships for a voyage by sea. With his men, his horses, and all he had, Henry embarked at St. Simeon, the port of Antioch, and a sail of one night and one day brought the travelers safely to Tarsus,¹⁷⁹ which at the time was a Byzantine city.¹⁸⁰

125, n. 22; Giesebrecht, V, 698-99; Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 20. It seems more than strange that Philippson in the revised edition of his work (p. 389 and n. **; cf. the first ed., II, 178) should have wished to insist upon identifying Mleh with "Sultan Ismael von Karamanien," after Röhricht (*Beiträge, loc. cit.*) and Giesebrecht (VI, 501) had signalized the error of this assumption (see also below, n. 182).

¹⁷⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. ix: "Igitur dux missis legatis ad Milonem Saracenum rogavit, ut per terram suam ducatum ei preberet. Qui missis ad eum viginti viris de nobilioribus suis mandat, se paratissimum esse, cum honore et summa pace per terram suam eum deducere. Quod comperiens dux in dolo factum, noluit per terram suam transire." I incline to the opinion that Henry dispatched his *missi* to Mleh before he arrived in Antioch; also, I think it likely that King Amalric and the Templars had warned Henry against Mleh, though only Prince Bohemond and the Antiochians at length persuaded him to abandon the hazardous plan of traveling through Armenia. None of these points can be definitely proved; they seem, however, to square with Arnold's narrative as I read it. But cf. Wigger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Giesebrecht, V, 698-99; Philippson, p. 389; Prutz, pp. 273-74.

¹⁷⁹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Princeps vero Antiochie, qui eum [ducem] honeste tractaverat, naves ei providit, quas ingressus cum equis et omnibus que habebat ad civitatem que dicitur portus Simeonis expansis velis nocte et die eundo partem quandam terre illius [sc. Milonis] preteriiit. Cumque ad civitatem quandam applicuisset que dicitur Torsult, saracenice vero Tortun." Are the mentioned "equis" horses belonging to the duke personally, which, possibly, he had taken with him when he crossed the Mediterranean (cf. below, n. 196)? Or are they the mounts furnished to the pilgrims at Acre (cf. above, n. 149, and below, n. 183)?

¹⁸⁰ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 22-23: "quam [sc. Torsult (Tarsus)] postea idem Milo expugnans sibi subiugavit in ultionem, quod peregrini ibi preterlapsi fuissent." Giesebrecht's (V, 699, n. *) and Wigger's (*loc. cit.*, p. 21, n. 1) comments on this passage are now antiquated. Early in 1173, Mleh did in fact conquer not only Tarsus but also Adana and Mamistra from the Byzantines (Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königr. Jerusalem*, p. 354, n. 2; *idem, Beiträge*, II, 125, n. 22; Grousset, II, 581—both writers cite Ibn al-Athir as their authority). That he undertook this conquest in order to avenge himself for the escape of the pilgrims seems very doubtful, though such an

When the duke had landed in Tarsus, Kilij Arslān II, sultan of Iconium (1155-92),¹⁸¹ sent him five hundred horsemen for protection on the journey northward through the western portion of Mleh's territory.¹⁸² This region, whose principal physical feature is the gigantic ridge called Bulgar Dagħ, was then known to Latins as *Rumenia deserta*: Arnold describes the country as forsaken, impenetrable, and waterless, a land of horror and vast solitude. For three days the pilgrims labored in this mountain wilderness, all their necessities, including drinking water both for animals and men, being conveyed on horseback. Yet, with the aid of their Turkish guides, they successfully completed what was, perhaps, the most difficult part of the return journey, evaded pursuit by Mleh, and presently arrived in the city of Heraclea, where the Turks gave Henry a splendid reception.¹⁸³ From Heraclea

interpretation perhaps was natural for Arnold. It is of some interest that our chronicler should have learned of Mleh's enterprise, which was not carried out until after Arnold had returned to Germany.

¹⁸¹ On Kilij Arslān II see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. (Fasc. No. 33 [Leyden and London, 1927], pp. 1007-8), and the works there cited; cf. Grousset, *op. cit.*, II, 288, and *passim*; M. Deguignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, Vol. II [Paris, 1756], Book XI, pp. 42 ff.

¹⁸² Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Cumque ad civitatem . . . applicuisset que dicitur Torsult [Tarsus] . . . soldanus, princeps Turcorum, misit ei quingentos milites, qui eum per terram Milonis deducerent cum omnibus que illius erant." Philippon (p. 389) speaks of three different sultans: one of Karaman (cf. above, n. 177 *ad fin.*), one of Iconium, one of Tarsus; and it was the latter, he thinks, who now provided an escort for Henry the Lion. As far as I can discover, there did not exist at this time a sultan either of Karaman or of Tarsus. Nor can there be any doubt that Arnold is here referring to the sultan of Iconium (cf. below, n. 191). It is not at all clear how Henry the Lion got into touch with Kilij Arslān, or how long he had to wait, if at all, in Tarsus, for the five hundred *milites*—a word which in this context I hesitate to render as "knights."

¹⁸³ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 24 (this passage follows immediately after the one cited in n. 181): "Profecti autem per triduum transierunt per terram desertam et inuiam et inaquosam, terram horroris et vaste solitudinis [cf. Deut. 32:10], que Rumenia deserta dicitur, ubi multum laboraverunt, portantes in equis omnia necessaria, etiam aquam quam biberent tam ipsi quam iumenta eorum [cf. above, nn. 149 and 179]. Et ita pervenerunt ad civitatem que iuxta linguam Turcorum dicitur Rakilei, in nostra lingua Eraclia, quam princeps Ierosolymitanus Eraclius olim tenebat, qui occidit Cosdroe, qui Ierosolymam ceperat et lignum Domini in captivitatem asportaverat. Dux autem illuc perveniens magnifice susceptus est a Turcis." *Eraclia* is of

the pilgrims were escorted to a place which Arnold calls Axarat.¹⁸⁴

Kilij Arslān met the duke in Axarat and manifested great joy at seeing him. He embraced him, kissed him, and told him he was his blood relative. When Henry, probably astonished at this statement, inquired about the marriage connection to which the relationship was due, the sultan is said to have replied as follows: "A certain noble matron from the land of the Teutons married the king of the Ruthenians, who begot by her a daughter; this daughter's daughter came to our land, and from her I am descended."¹⁸⁵ Since the genealogy

course Heraclea, the modern Eregli, situated some sixty or seventy miles northwest of Tarsus; see W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter," in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna, 1891), VIII. Abhandlung, pp. 92-93. A good map on which to trace the route of the pilgrims through Asia Minor will be found in Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas*, No. 84. In W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* ("Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society," Vol. IV [London, 1890]), there are more detailed maps, opposite pp. 178 and 338; but they apply chiefly to the pre-Turkish period.

¹⁸⁴ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "et inde [i.e., from Heraclea] deductus est Axarat." According to Giesebrecht (V, 699, n.**), Axarat probably was a "Lustschloss des Sultans" situated somewhere between Heraclea and Ismīla (see below, n. 191), though its exact site no longer can be determined. Most other scholars, including Lappenberg (in Arnold, *loc. cit.*, n. 5), Wigger (*loc. cit.*, p. 22), Röhrich (*Beiträge*, II, 125, n. 3), Tomaschek (*loc. cit.*, p. 93), and Heydel (p. 78 and n. 450) identify Axarat with the modern Akserai (Aktscha-Schehr), situated some sixty miles north of Heraclea (see Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, p. 89, lower map; Spruner-Menke, *loc. cit.*). Conceivably, Giesebrecht hesitated to subscribe to this view because it requires the assumption that our pilgrims after leaving Heraclea made a rather considerable northward detour. But if Kilij Arslān had invited Henry the Lion to visit him in Akserai, the duke could not have neglected to go there without grossly slighting the sultan, who already had given unmistakable proof of a friendly attitude, and without whose continued favor Henry scarcely could have hoped to reach the Byzantine frontier in safety. Besides, he may well have desired to meet the sultan in person (cf. above, n. 169). According to Deguignes (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 181], p. 45), Kilij Arslān was "estropié de tous ses membres et obligé de se faire traîner sur un char; mais son activité et sa vigilance entretenues par une ambition démesurée reparoient en lui ces infirmités."

¹⁸⁵ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "ubi [sc. Axarat] occurrit ei [sc. duci] soldanus letissimus, amplexans et deosculans eum, dicens, eum consanguineum suum esse. Cumque dux perquireret affinitatem consanguinitatis, ille respondit: 'Quedam nobilis matrona de terra Theutonicorum nupsit regi Ruthenorum, qui genuit ex ea filiam, cuius filia devenit in terram nostram, de qua ego descendi.'"

—whether true or not—fails to reveal any consanguinity whatever of the Seljuk sultan and the German duke, perhaps we may assume that its sole purpose was to evince cordiality: the sultan hoped to gratify his guest by priding himself on having a Teutonic noblewoman as one of his ancestors.¹⁸⁶ Kilij Arslān praised God for Henry's escape from the clutches of Mleh, and he denounced the latter as an infidel and a traitor who assuredly had intended to despoil the duke of his property and even his life.¹⁸⁷

Nothing short of lavish was the sultan's munificence. He first presented Henry with a mantle and tunic of finest silk—garments which, by reason of their excellent quality, Henry later caused to be made over into ecclesiastical vestments. Then the duke was bidden to select those he wished among eighteen hundred horses led up for the purpose. This gift Henry passed on to his knights, each of whom took a horse he liked. To Henry himself the sultan made a present of thirty especially strong chargers equipped with silver bits and saddles of cloth and ivory; he gave him also six tents (made of felt, according to the custom of the land), six camels to carry the tents, and slaves to drive the camels; finally, he added a gift of two leopards with horses and slaves, the leopards being trained to sit on horseback.¹⁸⁸ Henry, how-

¹⁸⁶ The lack of any reference in the genealogy to a forbear of Henry the Lion makes it pointless as well as futile to try to establish a blood relationship between the sultan and the duke (but see *OG*, III, 78 and n. ggg; also, Röhricht, *Beiträge*, II, 125, n. 24). Whether Kilij Arslān may have had a German female ancestor is another matter—which I will leave untouched. Cf. below, n. 189 *ad fin.*

¹⁸⁷ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: “Benedicebat autem soldanus Deum celi, quia dux manus Milonis evaserat, dicens eum infidelem et traditorem et, *si in terram eius devenisset*, profecto eum rebus vel etiam vita spoliasset.” The words which I have italicized should not be taken too literally. Henry had in fact passed through the western part of Mleh's realm (cf. above, n. 179).

¹⁸⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24–25: “Dedit [soldanus] autem ei [*sc. duci*] dona plurima [cf. below, n. 190, *ad init.*], mantellum et tunicam de optimo serico. Qui propter operis excellentiam fecit inde casulam et dalmaticam. Post hec adducti sunt equi mille octingenti, ut eligeret quos vellet. Dixit ergo dux militibus suis, ut quisque acciperet sibi equum quem voluisset. Inde adducti sunt caballi fortissimi triginta

ever, despite the fact that he had been treated most kindly by the sultan, could not refrain from chiding him for adhering to a religion (Islam) which, in Henry's eyes as in those of most Latin Christians, was the "superstition of paganism." Arnold reports that after the duke had said many things to his host about the incarnation of Christ and the Catholic faith, Kilij Arslān responded in these, from a Mohammedan very courteous, words: "It is not difficult to believe that God, when He wished, assumed flesh from an immaculate virgin, He who formed the first man from the slime of the earth."¹⁸⁹ But our chronicler fails to corroborate a rumor

cum frenis argenteis et sellis optimis de pallio et ebone compositis, quos duci tradidit. Dedit ei etiam sex domos filtrinas secundum morem terre illius et sex camelos, qui eas ferrent, cum servis, qui eas ducerent. Addidit his duos leopardos et equos et servos: docti enim erant sedere in equis." Whether the duke succeeded—and if so, how—in bringing all these exotic animals with him to Saxony is matter for speculation.

¹⁸⁹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 25: "Cumque [soldanus] omnibus modis benignissime eum [sc. ducem] tractaret, arguit eum dux de superstitione gentilitatis, multa dicens ei de incarnatione Christi et fide catholica. Qui respondens: 'Non est,' ait, 'difficile ad credendum, quod Deus, quando voluit, de immaculata virgine carnem assumpsit, qui hominem primum de limo terre plasmavit.' Forte, quia de heresi Nicolaitarum erat [Lappenberg observet (*ibid.*, n. 3): "Ita fortasse Arnoldus noster opinatur propter polygamiam huic sectae imputatam.'], libros Moysi audierat, in quibus de plasmatione primi hominis legerat. Sunt enim multi gentiles, qui pentateuchum Moysi recipiunt, nec tamen ab idolatria cessant, ut olim Samaritani." The last two sentences show clearly that Arnold regarded the Mohammedans as both heretics (Nicolaitans) and pagan idolaters. When even Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny (d. 1157), who undertook to refute the Koran, "could not decide whether the Mohammadans were pagans or heretics" (D. C. Munro, "The Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum*, VI [1931], 337), it can occasion little surprise that neither Henry the Lion nor Arnold of Lübeck (cf. *ibid.*, p. 338) understood the real tenets of the Islamic faith. That Kilij Arslān had some previous knowledge of the teachings of Christianity, as Wigger suggests (*loc. cit.*, p. 23), seems likely enough. But I find no basis for Wigger's view, that the sultan was greatly impressed by Henry's discourse (cf. the next note); nor am I convinced that this latter was prompted by "Mitleid mit des Sultans geistiger Blindheit," as Philippson (p. 390) would have it (cf. Arnold's term "arguit" in the passage quoted at the beginning of this note). This is not, of course, to deny that such sentiment did occasionally find lodgment even in the hearts of twelfth-century crusaders (see C. W. David [ed.], *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* ["Records of Civilization," ed. under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University, No. XXIV (New York, 1936)], p. 184 *ad fin.*); but it was rare prior to the time of St. Francis. Giesebrecht suggests (V, 702) that, since the dominion of Kilij Arslān was menaced by the

subsequently current in Cologne to the effect that Henry the Lion's intervention led the sultan to set free all his Christian captives.¹⁹⁰

From Axarat the pilgrims were conducted to a place called Ismila, and thence to Iconium, the capital city of the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm.¹⁹¹ The journey northwestward from Iconium led first through an uninhabited and very arid region—the same *horridissima solitudo*, according to Arnold, into which the Greeks were believed to have treacherously misdirected the crusading expedition of Conrad III in 1147—and then into “the very great forest which divides the realm of the Turks from that of the Greeks.” Penetration of the forest proved difficult; but after three days the pilgrims came at length to a Byzantine fortress called *castellum Alamanorum*.¹⁹² This place and also the one reached next, namely

Greeks, he may have desired to keep in touch with conditions in the Occident. According to Robert of Torigni (*sub anno* 1182, *loc. cit.* [above, n. 35], p. 297) this sultan had a Christian mother, who on her deathbed persuaded her son to accept Christianity in secret (cf. Giesebrecht, VI, 501). Pope Alexander III, it is said, after Kilij Arslān had assured him through envoys and letters that he was a Christian, wrote the sultan a letter of instruction on the Christian religion (see Röhrich, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* [Innsbruck, 1893], p. 145, No. 544, n. 1). There is evidence that Kilij Arslān took special pains to receive the Jacobite patriarch Michael of Antioch in Christian fashion (Grousset, II, 474, n.).

¹⁹⁰ *Chron. regia Colon.*, *loc. cit.* (above, n. 33), p. 124: “in reditu vero quidam rex paganus [cf. the preceding note] eum [sc. Heinricum ducem Saxonum] honorifice suscipiens, plura et magnifica dona optulit omnesque captivos christianos, qui sub regno eius exulabant, interventu ducis absolvit.” Arnold's complete silence on the last point here mentioned renders it, in my opinion, suspect. I do not see how Arnold could well have overlooked, or been ignorant of, so considerable a success for Henry the Lion's diplomacy.

¹⁹¹ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. x: “Dimissus itaque dux a soldano, deductus est Ismilam, inde Cunin [Iconium], que est civitas Turcorum capitalis.” Lappenberg indicates (*ibid.*, n. 5) that Ismila was a “rivus et locus inter Aktscha Schehr [Akserai] et Iconium.” Cf. Tomaschek, *loc. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁹² Arnold, *loc. cit.*, pp. 25–26: “Et inde [sc. Cunin (Iconium)] progressus venit [dux] in terram desertam et aridam nimis, ubi dicitur Conradus rex stetisse cum exercitu suo, quia propter nimiam terre solitudinem multis ibi fame et siti deficientibus procedere non poterat. [Follows a long digression on the disaster that overtook the crusading expedition of Conrad III in Asia Minor, which disaster Arnold ascribes to Greek treachery.] Dux autem procedens venit ad nemus maximum, quod

Nicaea—"a very strong city, beautifully adorned and well fortified with a circuit of walls and many towers"—Arnold signalizes, evidently on the basis of a legend current at the time, as strongholds which Godfrey of Bouillon had conquered from the Turks.¹⁹³ For reasons which our sources do not disclose, Henry crossed over to Europe by way of the Dardanelles rather than the Bosphorus. From Willecume (Gallipoli?), where apparently the landing took place, he went on to Constantinople.¹⁹⁴ His men received the horses

dividit terram Turcorum et Grecorum. Quod triduo cum difficultate transiens venit ad urbem regis Grece que dicitur castellum Alamannorum, quia eam dux Godefridus olim tenuerat et inde omnem Turcorum sibi subiugaverat [!].” I agree with Giesebrecht (VI, 501), that *castellum Alamannorum* is to be identified with Germanicopolis in Bithynia near the southeastern declivity of Mount Olympus, rather than with Germanicopolis (now Gangra) in Paphlagonia; for the first evidently was situated on the usually traveled road from Iconium to Nicaea, whereas the second seems not to have been connected with Iconium by any direct road (cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, map preceding p. 23; Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, p. 99). How Röhrich (*Beiträge*, II, 126, n. 27) could discover *castellum Alamannorum* in “die jetzige Ruine Eskikaleh, 4 Stunden von Kemlik, 8 Stunden nordwestlich von Nicaea,” is difficult to understand; and Tomaschek’s suggestion (*loc. cit.*, p. 93), that Dorylaeum may be meant, does not well comport with the name by which Arnold refers to the place. Cf. Heydel, p. 78 and n. 454; Wigger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 23–24.

¹⁹³ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 26: “Inde [i.e., from *castellum Alamannorum*] profectus pervenit [dux] ad urbem fortissimam, muro et turribus multis in circuitu venustissime ornatam et fortissime firmatam, que dicitur Anikke, quam idem Godefridus [cf. the last sentence of the citation from Arnold in the preceding note] labore nimio expugnaverat. Et quia propter suam fidelitatem

‘omni est memorabilis evo,’

dicamus, quomodo eandem urbem, quia inexpugnabilis erat, Deus in manus eius tradiderit. [All of chap. xi, which follows, is given over to an anecdotal account of incidents said to have occurred when Godfrey of Bouillon was besieging Anikke.]” Lappenberg (*ibid.*, n. 1), Böttiger (p. 293, n. 326), Prutz (p. 275), and Philippson (p. 390), all identify Anikke with a place which they call “Aniko”; but while the first three locate “Aniko” on the Dardanelles (Hellespont), Philippson makes it a “Bosphorusstadt.” No historical atlas which I have consulted indicates a place bearing the name of either “Aniko” or Anikke. Wigger (*loc. cit.*, p. 24), Röhrich (*Beiträge*, II, 50, n. 3), Giesebrecht (VI, 501), and Heydel (p. 79, n. 455) agree that Anikke is Nicaea; and Giesebrecht insists—rightly, I think—that there is no room for doubt on this point, “wie schon die Bezeichnung der Stadt als eines sehr festen Platzes und die Fabeli von der Belagerung durch Gottfried von Bouillon darthun.”

¹⁹⁴ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. xii, p. 30: “Dux autem progrediens [from Anikke] transito brachio sancti Georgii venit ad urbem Willecume, et inde procedens venit Constantinopolim.” Lappenberg (*ibid.*, n. 1), Böttiger (p. 294), Prutz (p. 275),

they had left here at the time of the embarkation for Acre; and we may presume that the *servi* and others who had remained in Constantinople now united again with the company of pilgrims.¹⁹⁵

Before setting out on the last stretch of the journey, Henry led his reassembled troop to Manopolis, evidently for the purpose of paying parting respects to Emperor Manuel, who was sojourning there at the time.¹⁹⁶ The basileus manifested

Wigger (*loc. cit.*, p. 24), Röhricht (*Beiträge*, II, 115), and Philippson (p. 390) equate Willecume with Gallipoli and, accordingly, state that the crossing took place at the Dardanelles (Hellespont). Giesebrecht (VI, 501; cf. V, 700) was of a different opinion: "Das *brachium sancti Georgii* . . . ist nicht der Hellespont, sondern der Bosphorus und die Propontis, wie es auch dem gewöhnlichen Gebrauch entspricht. *Willecume* . . . ist nicht Gallipoli, sondern ein Ort unweit Constantinopel [Chetumcome, to the east of Athyra, being proposed]." From the period of the Crusades medieval writers used the expression *brachium s. Georgii* to designate the entire watercourse which connects the Black Sea with the Aegean (see Tomaschek, *loc. cit.*, p. 3). Accordingly, in each instance one must determine from the context or from other evidence whether the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, or the Dardanelles is meant (cf. W. Bernhardt, *Konrad III [Jahrbrücher der deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1883)], II, 620 [n. 68], 622 [n. 69]). It is well known that the crusading expedition of Frederick Barbarossa in 1190 crossed the straits at the Dardanelles; and Arnold says with reference thereto (Book IV, chap. x, p. 134): "venerunt ad brachium sancti Georii [*sic*], ibique castra metantes. . . . Proxima die classem intrantes transierunt vadum." It is altogether probable that our chronicler uses the expression in the same sense, in the passage quoted at the beginning of this note; for (1), if the pilgrims had crossed the Bosphorus, they would in all likelihood have landed at Constantinople or Pera, and (2) the words "inde procedens" suggest that it was some little distance from the landing-place (Willecume) to Constantinople. Whether Willecume is to be identified with the seaport Gallipoli remains problematical; but it seems perfectly clear that the place must be sought somewhere on the Dardanelles side of the Gallipoli peninsula.

¹⁹⁵ See the next note; and cf. above, pp. 166, 187-88.

¹⁹⁶ Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. xii, p. 30: "ubi [i.e., at Constantinople] homines sui [*sc. ducis*] receptis equis, quos illic reliquerant, abierunt Manopolim, ubi tunc rex erat." Eccard (see *OG*, III, Book VII, 79) thought Manopolis was a corrupted form of Maximianopolis—the name given in the middle ages to ancient Porsulac (the modern Gümülcina), situated in western Thrace between the rivers Maritsa and Kara Su (Karasu, Karassu), some thirteen miles inland from the Thracian Sea (see Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas*, No. 76). Röhricht (*Beiträge*, II, 115) evidently shared Eccard's view. Laurent (p. 26), Prutz (p. 275), and Philippson (p. 390) assume, without discussion, that Manopolis is "Magnopolis." Wigger (*loc. cit.*, p. 24 and n. 1), Giesebrecht (VI, 501), and Heydel (p. 79 and n. 457) declare their uncertainty as to where or what Manopolis was, though Heydel inclines somewhat toward the position of Eccard and Röhricht. Arnold's statement, that the duke went on from Constantinople to Manopolis and from there to Nish (see below, n.

great delight at Henry's return and induced him to tarry several days. Then, as the duke was preparing to depart, Manuel presented to him fourteen mules loaded with gold and silver and silken vestments. Henry, however, while he expressed "immense thanks," declined to accept the proffered gift: "My lord," he is reported to have said, "I have much if I only find favor in your eyes." And, despite utmost urging, the duke refused to yield: on no account would he consent to receive this present. Manuel had to be content with giving his visitor what the latter had requested: namely, a large collection of highly valued relics of saints; though it is true that the emperor added to the relics "much glory of precious stones." After a final farewell to his alluring but seemingly overmunificent host, Henry departed from the Byzantine court in peace—and without having entered there into any compact of which there is certain trace in our sources.¹⁹⁷

198), would seem to indicate that Manopolis was somewhere to the west (or southwest or northwest) of Constantinople. It seems possible, therefore, especially since Arnold often distorts proper names (cf. Wigger, *loc. cit.*), that Eccard's identification of Manopolis with Maximianopolis is correct. To go to Maximianopolis, Henry would have to make a slight detour southward; but courtesy to Manuel, and the duke's desire to obtain relics from him (cf. the next note), would render this detour unavoidable.

¹⁹⁷ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Qui [*sc. rex* (Manuel)] multum letatus est reditu eius [*sc. ducis*], et cum honestissime detinuisset eum per aliquot dies, dedit ei quatuordecim mulos, oneratos auro et argento et sericis vestibus. Dux vero immensas gratias agens, noluit accipere, dicens ad eum: 'Habeo plurima, domne mi, inveniam tantum gratiam in oculis tuis.' Cumque nimis cogeret eum, et ille nulla ratione consentiret accipere, dedit sanctorum reliquias ei multas et preciosas, quas postulaverat. Addidit etiam multam lapidum preciosorum gloriam, et ita valedicto dux in omni pace discessit." The words "Habeo plurima" are rendered by Laurent and Wattenbach (German trans. of Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 29) as, "Ich habe ja schon so vieles erhalten"; and by Giesebrecht (V, 701) as, "Ich habe der Geschenke schon zu viel." The only previously mentioned Byzantine gifts are the velvet and furs which Empress Maria presented to Henry and his knights and, possibly, Manuel's furnishing of transportation to Acre, though this latter may have been paid for (cf. above, n. 139). The general sense of Henry's entire remark, as Arnold reports it, is, I think, correctly reproduced by Böttiger when he says (p. 294), "[der Herzog] erwiederte höflich, er sey schon durch die Gunst und Gnade des Kaisers reich und hoch beglückt." The pluperfect tense of "postulaverat" seems to imply that Henry's request for relics had been made before Manuel presented the mules laden with gold and silver, etc.; indeed, it is quite possible that the duke had solicited the relics at the time of his first sojourn in Constantinople in order that they might be

Following evidently the same route he had taken on the outward journey, the duke moved on to Nish and the Bulgarian Forest. Of difficulties on the way, there is now no mention. Neither are we informed that vessels were engaged when the travelers reached the Danube. Henry was well received by the new king of the Magyars, Bela III, who readily granted safe-conduct through his realm.¹⁹⁸ By December, at the latest, the duke found himself again in Bavaria, where he may have tarried for a time. He subsequently went to meet Frederick Barbarossa, at a diet which assembled in the city of Augsburg on Christmas Day. Frederick, it is said, was much rejoiced by the duke's safe return.¹⁹⁹ Early in January of 1173, almost exactly one year after the inception of the pilgrimage, Henry's Saxon friends joyfully welcomed him back to his beloved Brunswick.²⁰⁰

ready for prompt delivery on his return. The fact, however, that the *Historia de duce Hinrico* (cf. above, n. 45) indicates that Henry obtained the relics at Constantinople on the outward journey by no means proves such to have been the case; for the author of this compilation fails to record Henry's meeting with Manuel on the homeward journey (see Wigger, *loc. cit.*, p. 25, n. 1). The significance of the matters mentioned in the citation at the beginning of this note and also the question as to the identity of the relics are discussed below, pp. 212-17.

¹⁹⁸ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "dux . . . discessit [from Manuel at Manopolis; cf. above, n. 196, *ad init.*] et venit Niceam [Nish; cf. above, n. 117]. Et transitio nemore magno [cf. above, n. 105] venit ad regem Ungorum, qui tunc noviter creatus erat et regnum fratris optinuerat. Qui honestissime suscepit eum, dans ei conductum per terram suam." Cf. above nn. 93 and 94. Bela III was not yet crowned (see Huber, pp. 367-68). A Byzantine version of the circumstances attending his accession is given by Cinnamus (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 36], pp. 286-88; cf. Chalandon, p. 492).

¹⁹⁹ Arnold, *loc. cit.* (this passage follows immediately after the one cited in the preceding note): "et ita dux reversus est in fines suos. Post hec abiit ad imperatorem, qui tunc erat in civitate Augusta; et letatus est multum de adventu ipsius et quia salvum illum recepit." By "fines suos," Arnold obviously means Bavaria; and his expression "post hec" would seem to imply an interval between the duke's arrival in Bavaria and his departure for Augsburg (which then was in Swabia). *Annales Mellicenses, Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis III, sub anno 1173* (ed. W. Wattenbach, *MGH SS*, IX [1851], 630): "Imperator Fridericus in nativitate Domini curiam Auguste celebravit." This item of information is given, also, with only slight change of wording, in the *Annales Reicherspergenses (Chronicon Magni presbiteri)*, sub anno 1173 (ed. W. Wattenbach, *ibid.*, XVII [1861], 498).

²⁰⁰ Arnold, *loc. cit.*: "Revoluto autem anno [dux] reversus est Brunswich, et letati sunt omnes amici eius de adventu ipsius." Cf. Heydel, p. 80; above, n. 85.

IV

For what chief purpose had Henry the Lion undertaken his journey to Jerusalem? Was the pilgrimage truly an expression of piety, or was it only religious disguise for an astute political enterprise? The latter view, first expressed by a German scholar in 1881, found a distinguished French supporter some thirty years later. In a learned disquisition published at Berlin in 1919 it is expounded with all the ardor of conviction, and as late as 1936 it received favorable comment from a contributor to the leading historical periodical of Germany.²⁰¹ Hastily to brush aside this view as an obvious vagary which needs no refutation would not, therefore, be justifiable: we are obliged to examine it with care and to appraise the evidence cited in its support. A summary of the discussion presented in the hitherto most elaborate apologia will adequately signalize the several points which require consideration.

The lifelong striving of Henry the Lion, we are told, was directed unswervingly toward increase of his own power.²⁰² If the duke for a time rendered service to the emperor and the empire, it was only because he had calculated that such service would at first be the best means of advancing his plans of personal aggrandizement. His attitude of friendship toward Frederick Barbarossa should be regarded as more feigned than real; its *raison d'être* ceased to exist the moment Henry attained the limit of power that Frederick was willing to allow, and thenceforth Frederick began to appear as an obstacle in the path of Henry's ambition. The duke indeed judged it prudent to retain the mask of friendship for some time yet, but he was ready now to avail himself of any op-

²⁰¹ See the references to Kap-Herr, Chalandon, and Gronen, cited above, n. 1; also, the reference to R. Schmidt, cited above, n. 5.

²⁰² Gronen, pp. 4 (middle paragraph *ad fin.*), 7 (first paragraph *ad fin.*), 12-13, 115 (second sentence), and *passim*.

portunity to undermine Frederick's position.²⁰³ Such an opportunity definitely presented itself in 1164, when a Byzantine embassy appeared in Brunswick for the alleged purpose of drawing Henry into an alliance with Manuel against Frederick. Unable to resist the temptation, Henry agreed to what was proposed and so became a traitor to his fatherland.²⁰⁴ While it is true that he continued during the next five years to give support to Frederick, this support was mere simulation, the duke being too clever to break with the emperor until after he had thoroughly assured himself of Byzantine co-operation.²⁰⁵ There is reason to believe that in 1169-70 Henry became angered at Frederick for two reasons: first, because the emperor by purchasing the estates of Welf VI, an uncle of Henry and Frederick, deprived the duke of his prospect of inheriting these domains; and, second, because Frederick undertook to confirm a certain Berno as bishop of Schwerin, thereby diminishing somewhat the regalian rights of the duke. In consequence, Henry resolved to journey to Constantinople and to conclude there in person an alliance with Manuel, designed to crush the Hohenstaufen power. Secrecy being essential for the success of the plan, Henry decided to combine his diplomatic enterprise with a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In arriving at his decision he may have been actuated in part by certain religious motives; but these were not the determinants of his action, and the real purpose of his pilgrimage was without question political in character.²⁰⁶

The principal weakness in this interpretation is its large hypothetical element.²⁰⁷ Even if Henry the Lion's ambition

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 15-16 (with an augmented citation from Treitschke's *Politik* [!] to bolster the argument), 29-30, 32, 34 (*ad init.*), 37-38, 116 ("Eine kluge Verschleierungskunst," etc.), 119.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47 (middle paragraph), 58.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-63, 123-26. Cf. Philippson, pp. 371-73; Chalandon, p. 596 and n. 1; Kap-Herr, pp. 100-101.

²⁰⁷ Editha Gronen appears to have been at least partly aware of this fact; see *loc. cit.*, p. 126 *ad fin.*

had been as utterly selfish, and as unbounded and unscrupulous, as some of his modern detractors believe it was²⁰⁸—a point on which reservations are permissible—we still would have no right to assume without proof that Henry in 1164 agreed to enter into alliance with Manuel Comnenus. The sum total of our information concerning the Byzantine negotiations with Henry in 1164 is contained in the following statement by the contemporary Saxon chronicler Helmold:

In those days [i.e., in July, 1164, when Henry was campaigning in Pomerania] there came into the land of the Slavs a messenger who said to the duke: "Behold, there has come to Brunswick a legate of the king of Greece with a great retinue to speak with you." To give him audience the duke went out of Slavia, leaving the army and giving up the advantages of a successful expedition.²⁰⁹

It may well be that Manuel at this time had an interest in securing the duke of Saxony as his ally against Frederick Barbarossa, and perhaps the mission of his legate was to effect a compact of some sort,²¹⁰ though obviously the second

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 118: "Will man Heinrichs des Löwen Politik im Rahmen der deutschen Geschichte würdigen, so ist sie im ganzen scharf zu tadeln"; *ibid.*, p. 119: "Interesse für das Reich hat Heinrich nie gehabt, und weil in den wenigsten Fällen persönliche Machtinteressen mit denen des Reiches zusammenfielen, konnte aus seiner Politik kein Heil für Deutschland erwachsen." Cf. Giesebrecht, V, 782. For a very different estimate of Henry the Lion's services to Germany, see James Westfall Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), chap. viii, and *passim*. Protests against Editha Gronen's vilification of Henry the Lion's character and policy in general have not failed to appear; see Güterbock, "Barbarossa u. H. d. Löwe," *loc. cit.* (above, n. 2), pp. 256–57, 268; Richard Schmidt, *loc. cit.* (above, n. 5), p. 254, n. 1; Ruth Hildebrand, *Der sächsische Staat Heinrichs des Löwen* ("E. Eberings Historische Studien," No. 302 [Berlin, 1937]), pp. 295 (n. 56), 297–98.

²⁰⁹ Helmold of Bosau, *Cronica Slavorum*, Book II, chap. ci (v), ed. B. Schmeidler (SSrG [Hanover and Leipzig, 1909]), p. 199: "In diebus illis venit nuntius in terram Slavorum, qui diceret duci: 'Ecce legatus regis Grecia cum multo comitatu venit Brunewich loqui tibi.' Ad hunc audiendum dux egressus est Slaviam, omisso exercitu et prosperis expeditionis successibus." The translation is that of Tschan (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 89 *ad fin.*], p. 262; cf. p. 21, n. 11).

²¹⁰ Gronen, pp. 44–45. In the light of the following comment by Schmeidler ("Helmold und seine *Cronica Slavorum*," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XIV [1912], 229), however, Gronen's interpretation of the passage quoted in the preceding note leaves the naïveté of Helmold out of account: "Der Bote des Kaisers Manuel war auf jeden Fall ein Vorwand, Heinrich

of these points cannot be definitely established. But the opinion that Henry consented to what was proposed²¹¹ is pure conjecture without a shred of substantiating evidence. Henry's complete and unstinting support of Frederick for at least five years after he received the Byzantine legate²¹² utterly discredits the view that the latter had snared him into an alliance with the basileus.²¹³

Examination of the argument that a break occurred between Henry and Frederick in 1169-70, likewise yields negative results. The patrimony of Welf VI—which was the only part of Welf's possessions that he promised to devise to Henry the Lion—was not offered to Frederick before 1175; hence, Frederick's acceptance of this offer could by no chance have influenced Henry's attitude toward him prior to that time.²¹⁴ And the emperor's alleged confirmation of Berno as bishop of Schwerin in 1170 resolves itself into a confirmation merely of the limits of Berno's diocese, an action which, since it affected neither the duke's territorial dominion nor his regalian rights, could scarcely have given him cause for umbrage.²¹⁵ There is,

brauchte um dessenwillen nicht sein Heer aufzulösen und den Verbündeten ganz sitzen zu lassen; dass da andere, politische Motive [namely, Henry's unwillingness to strengthen Danish power on the mainland] massgebend waren, ist mit Händen zu greifen."

²¹¹ Gronen, pp. 46-47, 60-61.

²¹² Editha Gronen found it necessary to concede this point (*ibid.*, pp. 47 and 58). But she readily disposes of it: Henry's "völligen Anschluss an die kaiserliche Politik" must have been "eben nur Schein"—a glaring example of the torturing of evidence which historical interpretation based on an assumed character pattern involves.

²¹³ Ruth Hildebrand contends (*op. cit.*, pp. 297-98), with good show of reason, that a "Verschwörung gegen den Kaiser" would have jeopardized Henry's *Territorialpolitik* in the 1170's. How much more incongruous would it have not been in the 1160's, when full realization of the duke's territorial objectives lay even farther in the future?

²¹⁴ This note, by reason of its length, appears at the end of the essay (see p. 222).

²¹⁵ The most recent edition of the relevant diploma is by Friedrich Salis, in "Die Schweriner Fälschungen," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, I (1908), 345-47; there is an older edition in *Meklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, I (1863), No. 91, pp. 85-87. Salis shows (*loc. cit.*, pp. 313 ff.) that the text of this document, in the form we have

accordingly, no valid ground for the hypothesis that Henry, before setting out on his pilgrimage in 1172, had already become a secret enemy of Frederick.²¹⁶

We come now to the question of whether Henry concluded an alliance with Manuel in Byzantium. Undeniably, our duke several years later was accused of having thus compromised himself. Accusations, however, are not proof, and it must be insisted that we have no proof of an alliance between Henry and Manuel.²¹⁷ In the Gelnhausen document—which is our principal authority for the grounds of the legal proceedings against the duke in the period 1178–80—Henry is indeed charged with high treason; but the document fails to explain wherein the treason consisted, and it makes evident

it, is to a considerable extent forged, though he concedes “das Vorhandensein einer echten Konfirmation Friedrichs I für Schwerin vom (3.) Januar 1170” (*ibid.*, p. 309). Evidently, Berno accompanied Henry the Lion to Frankfurt (*ibid.*, p. 308), where the diploma was issued. The fact that Berno is referred to in the document as “gloriosi ducis Saxonie Hinrici constitutione primus gentis illius [i.e., the transelbian Slavs] episcopus,” renders it highly improbable that Frederick on this occasion intended to diminish in any manner Henry the Lion’s regalian rights; and Salis has proved, I think, that those passages which imply subtractions from the duke’s territorial dominion, are forgeries (see esp. *ibid.*, pp. 322–25, 327, 329–30). In this case, as in the one considered in the preceding note, Editha Gronen (p. 60) has too readily accepted what appears to be an unfounded opinion of Philippson (p. 378). Prutz (pp. 256–57) and Heydel (p. 71 and n. 405) believe that the diploma in question was *erwirkt* from Frederick by Henry the Lion himself.

²¹⁶ Güterbock, it is true, in his *Gelnhäuser Urkunde* (p. 152), tries to rescue the thesis of L. Weiland (“Goslar als Kaiserpfalz,” in *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* [publ. by the Verein für hansische Geschichte], V [Jahrgang 1884; Leipzig, 1885], 29 ff.), that Frederick in 1168 withdrew from Henry the *Vogtei* of Goslar, and that this measure deeply offended the duke—a thesis which H. Niese (“Der Sturz Heinrichs des Löwen,” *HZ*, CXII [1914], 551–53) has effectively undermined. I may content myself with observing that the evidence adduced in support of the first point in this thesis seems quite inconclusive (cf. Philippson, p. 412, n.; Gronen, p. 69) and that the second point is mere conjecture—as Güterbock (*loc. cit.*; see also his “Barbarossa u. H. d. Löwe,” *loc. cit.*, p. 263) virtually admits. Cf. Haendle, *op. cit.* (above, n. 19), pp. 23–25. Conjecture, likewise, is the view (cf. Gronen, p. 63) that Frederick’s assertion—at a diet held in Saxony on November 18, 1171—of a claim to the Plötzke inheritance (see Giesebrecht, V, 692, VI, 499; also Philippson, pp. 382 and 383) had a distempering effect on Henry; and the advocate of this view herself cites sufficient evidence to disprove it (Gronen, *loc. cit.*, nn. 61 and 62).

²¹⁷ This note, by reason of its length, appears at the end of the essay (see p. 223).

that the verdict rendered by the court was based not upon treason but upon default.²¹⁸ The Gelnhausen document, accordingly, yields no clear evidence that Henry had allied himself with Manuel.

The duke, as we have seen, was accompanied on the outward journey to Constantinople by an envoy of Frederick, namely, Bishop Conrad II of Worms. Whatever may have been the real mission intrusted to Conrad, the latter did not, as far as we know, bring back to Frederick any disturbing report concerning Henry's relations with Manuel.²¹⁹ When Henry first came to Constantinople, he was received with almost regal honors, but there is nothing to show that either he or the basileus broached the subject of an alliance at this time.²²⁰ On the return journey Henry paid due respect to Manuel by visiting him at Manopolis and was persuaded to tarry there some days.²²¹ It is quite possible that Manuel

²¹⁸ The latest edition of this document is by Güterbock (*Gelnhäuser Urkunde*, pp. 23-27); but see, also, the edition of Haller (*loc. cit.*, pp. 447-50). I quote here the relevant passage as it is given by Güterbock (*loc. cit.*, pp. 24-25), but with omission of the marks indicating the ends of the lines in the manuscript: "Proinde tam presentium quam futurorum imperii fidelium noverit universitas, qualiter Heinricus quondam dux Bawarie, et Westfalie, eo quod ecclesiarum dei et nobilium imperii libertatem possessiones eorum occupando et iura ipsorum imminuendo graviter oppresserat, ex instanti principum querimonia et plurimorum nobilium quia citacione vocatus maiestati nostre presentari contempserit et pro hac contumacia principum et sue condicionis Sueuorum proscriptionis nostre inciderit sententiam, deinde quoniam in ecclesias dei et principum ac nobilium iura et libertatem crassari non destitit, tam pro illorum iniuria quam pro multiplici contemptu nobis exhibito ac precipue pro *evidenti reatu maiestatis* [italics mine] sub feodali iure legitimo trino edicto ad nostram citatus audientiam *eo quod se absentasset nec aliquem pro se misisset responsalem contumax iudicatus est* [italics mine]; ac proinde tam ducatus Bawarie quam Westfalie et Angarie quam etiam universa que ab imperio tenuit beneficia per unanimum principum sententiam in sollempni curia Wirziburg celebrata ei abiudicata sunt nostroque iuri addicta et potestati." For interpretation of the italicized words, see *ibid.*, pp. 59-64 and *passim*; also, the references there cited. The document is dated April 13, 1180.

²¹⁹ Cf. above, nn. 89, 134, 135. If the envoy had accused Henry of plotting against his suzerain, the latter would hardly have expressed pleasure at the duke's safe return (cf. above, n. 199). See also Gronen, p. 62.

²²⁰ Cf. above, pp. 186-87.

²²¹ Cf. above., pp. 204-5.

tried now to inveigle Henry into an alliance.²²² In any case, his offer of fourteen mules laden with gold and silver appears to have been regarded by the duke as an intended *quid pro quo*. Arnold's unequivocal statement that this offer was declined²²³ deserves more attention than it has hitherto received: it specifically contradicts the charge made by Godfrey of Viterbo, a zealous partisan of Frederick, that Henry accepted "the gifts of the Greeks."²²⁴ For there is no reason to suppose that the relics which Henry obtained from Manuel were a substitute for the rejected gold and silver. Apparently, the duke presented his request for relics before he was offered the gold and silver. We have nothing which would indicate unwillingness on Manuel's part to supply the relics, and we cannot wholly exclude the possibility that the relics were purchased. In the latter case, the only recorded Byzantine gifts accepted by Henry were the precious stones which Manuel added to the relics, and the velvet and furs presented by Empress Maria—favors which, in view of the gifts which Henry brought to Manuel, assume the aspect of a reciprocation.²²⁵

Lingering suspicion that Henry's pilgrimage may, in spite of the considerations now submitted, have had a political motivation is dispelled by positive evidence to the contrary. From Arnold of Lübeck we learn that

the duke, when he had secured peace in his dominions [*ca.* 1170-71] after passing through so many great dangers, felt it would be like seeking a haven of salvation if for expiation of his sins he should visit the Holy Sepulcher in order to worship the Lord in the place where His feet have stood.²²⁶

Arnold also testifies, as we have seen, that the duke remained mindful of the consecrate character of his expedition: at Ravenelle he hesitated to use force against the hostile Serbs

²²² Cf. Giesebrecht, V, 702, 780.

²²³ Cf. above, n. 197.

²²⁴ See above, n. 217.

²²⁵ Cf. above, nn. 123, 138, 197.

²²⁶ See above, n. 46.

except as a last resort;²²⁷ and he openly declared that the pilgrimage was undertaken for the name of God and in obedience to divine precept.²²⁸ Henry's munificent donations to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and to the Templars and Hospitallers²²⁹ yield substantial support to the contention that his pilgrimage had a religious motivation: in the diploma issued by the duke at Jerusalem he solemnly records that his endowment of the three lamps in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was for the remission of all sins of himself, his wife, his prospective heirs, and his entire kindred.²³⁰ The punctiliousness with which Henry visited the various holy places of Palestine²³¹ constitutes further evidence that he was at this time under the dominance of a religious urge.

It may be contended, also, that though Henry on the journey took pains to secure a large assortment of relics, yet there is no real warrant for assuming that acquisition of relics was the chief object of his pilgrimage. The duke undeniably had an interest in accumulating such treasures; and he must have known, before setting out on the expedition, that he would meet unrivaled opportunity to satisfy this interest.²³² The large number of relics which he requested of Emperor Manuel²³³ suggests a matured plan on Henry's part of building up what in our day has come to be called the "Guelph Treasure."²³⁴ We know that after the duke's return to Brunswick

²²⁷ For this there was precedent; see my "Great German Pilgrimage," *loc. cit.*, pp. 21 ff., 40-41.

²²⁸ Cf. above, pp. 177-78.

²²⁹ Cf. above, pp. 190-92.

²³⁰ See the second sentence in the diploma (below, pp. 220-21).

²³¹ Cf. above, nn. 163-65.

²³² See Comte Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva, 1877), I, Preface, xxxix-xl.

²³³ Cf. above, n. 197.

²³⁴ This collection of relics and reliquaries, which after many vicissitudes of fortune is now in considerable part dispersed (in the *Art Index* for the period January, 1929-September, 1932 [New York, 1933], pp. 649-50, *s.v.* "Guelph Treasure," there is a list of articles on purchases of *objets d'art* belonging to this collection), was

he caused at least some of the relics which he had acquired on the journey²³⁵ to be mounted in sumptuous reliquaries adorned with gold and silver and precious stones;²³⁶ just as, at the same time, he had gorgeous ecclesiastical vestments made from the finer silk garments presented by Sultan Kiliġ Arslān.²³⁷ Arnold emphasizes repeatedly Henry's zeal in enriching the "house of God" with relics and vestments, and he refers specifically to the Church of St. Blasius in Brunswick as evidence of this zeal.²³⁸ While it is no longer possible to

formerly known as the "Treasure of Relics of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg." See Otto von Falke, Robert Schmidt, and Georg Swarzenski, *The Guelph Treasure* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1930), p. 13; also Neumann, *op. cit.* (above, n. 10), p. 25. Neumann shows (p. 27) that some pieces which once belonged to the Guelph Treasure antedate the time of Henry the Lion.

²³⁵ See below, n. 238.

²³⁶ The gems in question may have been those presented by Manuel (cf. above, n. 197).

²³⁷ Cf. above, n. 188 *ad init.*, and the following note. It may be added that Abbot Henry "in ipso tempore de peregrinatione rediens [monasterium beati Egidii] duodecim palliis ornaverat" (Arnold, *loc. cit.*, chap. xiii, p. 32).

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. xii. pp. 30-31: "Et ditavit [dux] domum Dei reliquiis sanctorum, quas secum attulerat, vestiens eas auro et argento et lapidibus pretiosis, inter quas etiam erant brachia apostolorum plura. De optimis etiam palliis ad ornatum divini servitii fecit casulas plurimas, dalmaticas, subtilia, et ornavit ecclesias. Erat autem idem princeps devotissimus in ornatu domus Dei, ut in ecclesia beati Blasii, qui est in Brunewich, cernitur; quam tamen adversitatibus succedentibus . . . ad libitum non consummavit." This passage seems to disprove Neumann's contention (pp. 22, 27-28) that Henry the Lion presented no valuable reliquaries to the Church of St. Blasius but kept them all in his own custody. Henry may indeed have retained possession of a considerable number of relics, mounted or unmounted; for his son, the emperor Otto IV, in a testament dated May 18, 1218 (in H. Meibom, *op. cit.* [above, n. 45], III, 148; cf. J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, V, Part I [ed. J. Ficker (Innsbruck, 1881)], No. 510, pp. 152-53), devised to the Church of St. Blasius "omnes reliquias, quas pater noster habuit et nos habemus, . . . praeter unum brachium, quod uxori nostrae repraesentabitur." Yet, we can hardly suppose that Arnold, when he states that the duke "ditavit domum Dei reliquis sanctorum," is excepting the Church of St. Blasius—which he subsequently cites as an example of Henry's zeal "in ornatu domus Dei." The possibility that the chronicler meant to distinguish subtly between enrichment with relics and ornamentation with vestments seems so remote as to be negligible. In all likelihood, his intention was to signalize the Church of St. Blasius as the best example of Henry's munificence in the matter both of vestments and of relics; and, if so, his testimony proves that Henry the Lion presented *some* relics—how many we cannot tell—to this church. Accordingly,

ascertain to any considerable extent the identity of the relics which were obtained on the pilgrimage,²³⁹ at least we have three items of relevant information: (1) Arnold reports that among these relics were "many arms of apostles";²⁴⁰ (2) an extant diploma issued by Henry—presumably after the pilgrimage—sets forth that he has presented to the Church of Hildesheim a cross made from the actual wood of the Lord's cross;²⁴¹ (3) another diploma, issued in 1283 by Abbot John of Wismar, states that Henry brought with him from Greece a portion of the blood of the Savior.²⁴² Now, since each of these relics might well have been secured in Constantino-

when Otto IV devises to the same church "all the relics which our father had," these words must be understood to signify not all the relics ever possessed by Henry the Lion but only those which he had passed on to Otto. The others Henry had himself presented to the *domum Dei*. That Arnold could have confused Otto's bequest with the gift of Henry is impossible, for he died at least four years before Otto made his testament (cf. above, n. 26).

²³⁹ Cf. Neumann, pp. 27-28.

²⁴⁰ See above, n. 238 *ad init.*

²⁴¹ This diploma may be found in OG, III, 520, No. LXIX; also, in *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe*, ed. K. Janicke, I ("Publicationen aus den k. preussischen Staatsarchiven," LXV [Leipzig, 1896]), 342, No. 359. Despite the fact that the editor of the OG has indicated "anno 1172" as the date of the diploma, it really is undated. I cite here the relevant passage as it is given in the *Urkundenbuch*: "ecclesie sancte Crucis in civitate vestra Hildensemensi de ipsa dominici ligni substantia crucem quandam contulimus."

²⁴² OG, III, 521, No. LXX: "nos [*sc.* Iohannes Abbas, totusque conventus in Wismaria] . . . habentes thesaurum magnum, in vasis manufactis depositum, videlicet pretiosi sanguinis Dominici portiunculam. . . . Quem thesaurum olim illustris Princeps, Henrico, Dux Bauariae et Saxoniae, de Graecia transtulit, et suo familiari, . . . Henrico, Episcopo Lubecensi, pro parte contradidit." Cf. *Historia de duce Hinrico* (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 45], p. 244): "[Hinricus dux] donans ei [*i.e.*, Abbot Henry, at the time he became bishop of Lübeck] et Guncelino comiti Sverinensi munera plurima et sanguinem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, quem in duas particulas . . . dividens partem uni et partem alteri tribuit." Wigger (*loc. cit.*, pp. 25-26, n. 1) doubted that the Holy Blood at Cismar (Wismar) was one of the relics acquired by Henry the Lion from Emperor Manuel, partly on the ground that Arnold fails to mention this relic. It seems possible that Wigger in this instance has pressed the argument from silence a little too far. But, even if he is right, the claim set up by the monks of Wismar would indicate that thirteenth-century tradition ascribed a Byzantine provenience to the relics obtained by the duke on his pilgrimage.

ple,²⁴³ and since there is nothing to prove that Henry acquired any relic in Palestine,²⁴⁴ we have some reason to infer that all the relics with which the duke returned to Brunswick were obtained from Manuel. When the evidence on this point—though in itself inconclusive—is considered together with the testimony previously cited concerning the purpose of the pilgrimage,²⁴⁵ it strongly suggests that Henry's motive for going to Jerusalem was not identical with his interest in relics.

V

The conclusions to which our study has led can be quite briefly summarized. There is no evidence that Henry the Lion embarked in the year 1172 on a surreptitious and treasonable political enterprise. The principal object of his pilgrimage, so far as it may be discerned in the light supplied by our sources, appears to have been genuinely religious in nature. Relics, adventure, wider fame, acquaintance with persons and places given notoriety by the Crusades—all these the duke may have sought incidentally; yet, with exception of the last, he needed not for their sakes to journey to Palestine. Nor is there anything to prove that he had planned a military offensive against the enemies of the Cross.

²⁴³ Of all cities in the Levant, the cities of Palestine not excepted, Constantinople prior to its sack in 1204 had by far the largest and most precious collection of relics (see Riant, *Exuviae*, I, Preface, xxxix ff.; Neumann, p. 25). A long list of relics preserved in Constantinople may be found in [C. C. Rafn, ed.] *Antiquités russes d'après les monuments historiques des Islandais et des anciens Scandinaves*, II (Copenhagen: Société royale des antiquaires du Nord, 1852), pp. 416–17. The following item, in the *Annales s. Petri Erphesfurtenses maiores, sub anno 1170* (ed. O. Holder-Egger, in *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia* [SSrG (Hanover and Leipzig, 1899)], p. 60), is not without interest in this connection: "Cristanus archiepiscopus legatus imperatoris Greciam proficiscitur pluresque reliquias sanctorum reportavit." According to John of Würzburg (chap. xiii, *loc. cit.* [above, n. 154], p. 152), Emperor Constantine the Great's mother Helena brought with her from Palestine to Constantinople the larger part of the wood of the Lord's Cross. Cf. above, n. 154.

²⁴⁴ Neumann (p. 27) suggests that Henry may have brought some relics from Jerusalem but fails to cite evidence to this effect.

²⁴⁵ Above, pp. 213 ff.

If he arranged to be accompanied by a small army of men,²⁴⁶ it no doubt was with a view toward insuring tranquillity in his duchies during his absence and for safeguarding the treasure he brought; even though the retinue may have been intended, also, to display the duke's magnificence and cause him to be received with distinction by foreign potentates. The pilgrimage reveals Henry the Lion as a man who was at once venturesome and cautious, vainglorious and pious—a by no means uncommon psychic blend. In the twelfth century, an occidental prince of such stripe naturally would repair to Jerusalem when occasion offered, partly in order to exhibit his devotion to the chivalric ideal of the time, but, even so, with honest desire to do penance for his sins and “worship the Lord in the place where His feet have stood.”²⁴⁷

The duke returned to Germany not as a secret ally of the Byzantine basileus but as a loyal vassal of the Holy Roman emperor; and he was received as such by Frederick Barbarossa at the Christmas diet of 1172 in Augsburg.²⁴⁸ We have seen that there is no evidential basis for the view that Henry's later misunderstanding with Frederick had its inception in the period antedating the pilgrimage, there being not the slightest suggestion in our sources of offense taken by the duke at any measure of his suzerain prior to 1172.²⁴⁹ That Frederick, however, eventually gave Henry cause for offense must, it seems, be inferred from the change which Henry's attitude toward the emperor underwent in the period 1174–

²⁴⁶ Arnold more than once terms Henry's following an *exercitus* (cf. above, n. 18 *ad fin.*, n. 114).

²⁴⁷ This conclusion, it need not be said, in the main agrees with the views of Giesebrecht, Wigger, and Prutz (references cited above, n. 3). It varies somewhat from the opinions of Böttiger and Philippson (cf. above, n. 4), and contradicts the positions taken by Kap-Herr, Chalandon, Editha Gronen, and Richard Schmidt (cf. above, n. 5).

²⁴⁸ Cf. above, n. 199.

²⁴⁹ Cf. above, nn. 214–16.

76.²⁵⁰ For the duke's stubborn refusal to join his suzerain in the campaign of 1176—except, perhaps, in return for what Frederick regarded as an impossible consideration—presupposes that he previously had been estranged.²⁵¹ The occasion for this estrangement remains still, despite sedulous research, an open question.²⁵² Did Henry take umbrage when he learned that Frederick during the duke's absence on pilgrimage had caused his castellans in Saxony to swear that they would deliver their strongholds together with the land into the hands of the emperor in the event Henry should not return?²⁵³ And was Frederick's arrangement to have Bishop Conrad of Worms accompany the duke to Constantinople subsequently recognized by Henry as a sign that he had ceased to enjoy his sovereign's full confidence and favor?²⁵⁴ Or is it more likely that Henry maintained his friendly attitude toward Frederick until the latter cut off his prospect of acquiring the patrimony of Welf VI?²⁵⁵

These questions must here be left unanswered. If the fore-

²⁵⁰ There is evidence that Henry the Lion appeared several times at the court of Frederick between Christmas, 1172, and March 3, 1174 (see Hampe, *loc. cit.*, p. 60, n. 1).

²⁵¹ The consideration referred to is, of course, Goslar. On the importance of this place, see Niese, *loc. cit.*, pp. 551–53; cf. Güterbock, "Barbarossa u. H. d. Löwe," *loc. cit.*, p. 263.

²⁵² Niese, after reviewing the evidence, declares (*op. cit.*, p. 556): "Stichhaltige Gründe für die Weigerung in Chiavenna sind also nicht zu finden."

²⁵³ We derive this information from Gobelin, who says (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 45 *ad fin.*]): "Henricus Dux Saxoniae . . . ad terram sanctam . . . profectus est. . . . Interim Imperator existens in partibus Saxoniae potentiores quosdam provinciae, quibus Dux urbes suas commiserat, terroribus vel promissionibus secreto circumvenit, et juramento constrinxit, ut si forte Dux non rediret, urbes cum terra sibi contraderent. Et post hoc Duce reverso propter haec facta est dissensio inter Imperatorem et Ducem." Haller (*loc. cit.*, pp. 326 ff.) and Niese (*loc. cit.*, pp. 553 ff.) accept Gobelin's account as on the whole trustworthy. It is rejected as "Welfisches Geklatsch" by Hampe (*loc. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.) and Güterbock (*Gelnhäuser Urkunde*, p. 161).

²⁵⁴ Cf. above, n. 89.

²⁵⁵ Cf. above, n. 214 and the references there cited (*ad fin.*); also Niese, *loc. cit.*, p. 255 *ad fin.*

going pages have narrowed in any appreciable degree the scope of an intriguing problem in medieval German history, and if they have contributed something toward a better understanding of the most important peaceful pilgrimage to Palestine in the twelfth century, they will have adequately served their intended purpose.

APPENDIX

THE JERUSALEM DIPLOMA OF HENRY THE LION

Henry, duke of Bavaria and Saxony, makes known that he has established an endowment for three lamps, which are to burn perpetually in the Church of the Resurrection (i.e., the Church of the Holy Sepulcher).²⁵⁶

JERUSALEM, 1172

In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Notum sit²⁵⁷ omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris sancte matris ecclesie filiis, quod Ego Henricus per dei gratiam Bawarie et Saxonie

²⁵⁶ The complete text of this diploma probably was put into print for the first time by J. J. Mader, in his *Antiquitates Brunsvicensis* (new ed. [Helmstedt, 1678], No. IX, pp. 122-25; the first ed. was published in 1661 [cf. *ibid.*, p. 280]). Mader's text—which appears to have been taken from a copy of the diploma furnished by J. J. Hoffmann, an official in the service of the duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (see *ibid.*, Preface)—was reprinted in P. J. Rehtmeyer's *Braunschweig-Lüneburgische Chronica*, I (Brunswick, 1722), 338 (see Heydel, pp. 137-38, No. 62). It may be presumed that there were two originals (cf. below, n. 269), one being deposited in the archives of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the other retained by Henry the Lion and brought to Brunswick. In any case, Scheid prepared from an original ("ex autographo") a new edition of the diploma for Vol. III of the *Origines Guelficae* (Book VII, Probationes, No. LXVI, pp. 516-17). The original used by Scheid, though possibly still extant, was untraceable as late as 1929 (see Heydel, *loc. cit.*). Before it disappeared, however, Jung fortunately had a facsimile made, for reproduction in the fifth volume of the *Origines Guelficae*, where it appears opposite p. 18. The text here submitted is intended to be a faithful transcript of the facsimile, with the abbreviations extended. I have tried to avoid any alterations in spelling and capitalization. My punctuation differs somewhat from Scheid's but not essentially. The chief purpose in appending the text of the diploma to this essay is to make it more readily accessible. In the following places, it is only summarized or given in small part: Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, p. 130, No. 494; Otto Dobenecker, *Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria historiae Thuringiae*, II (Jena, 1900), 87, No. 456; *Meklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, I (see above, n. 72), 102, No. 103.

²⁵⁷ Both Mader and Scheid have "si." The word is spelled out in the facsimile.

dux, misericordie instinctu tactus, pro remissione omnium peccatorum meorum, et inclite uxoris mee Ducisse Matildis, magnifici Anglorum regis filie, et eorum, quos deus misericordie sue dono michi dederit heredum, necnon et totius generis mei, tres lampades perpetuo ad honorem dei ardent, in dominice resurrectionis ecclesia locari²⁵⁸ constitui et ordinaui. Quarum lampadam una coram glorioso domini sepulcro ardeat. Altera uero in caluarie loco ante dominicam passionem; tertia autem coram uiuifico sancte crucis ligno constituatur. Verum ad supplendum et perpetuo hoc misericordie opus subministrandum, quingentis Bisantiis domos²⁵⁹ Michaelis Turbitoris, muro dominice resurrectionis ecclesie conuigas,²⁶⁰ libero domini ierosolimorum regis concessu, emi; que domus annuatim uiginti bisantios censuales reddunt, unde oleum ad opus lampadarum perpetuo ardentium emi debet. Et tam dominus patriarcha quam sancte resurrectionis ecclesie conuentus michi fidei verbo promiserunt, quod de redditu²⁶¹ domorum²⁶² predictis tribus lampadibus oleum annuatim emetur, et die noctuque ardebunt. Et ut hoc inconcussum tam ab ipsis quam a successoribus suis custodiatur et teneatur, sigilli domini patriarche et nostri²⁶³ et nichilominus sancte resurrectionis ecclesie impressione hoc privilegium insigniri feci. Ego uero A., dominice resurrectionis ecclesie patriarcha, hoc misericordie opus approbaui et laudaui, et si quis inuidie filius in posterum illud cassare presumerit, anathematis uinculo donec resipuerit, ligatus teneatur. Cunctis uero hoc custodientibus sit pax et misericordia a domino nostro iesu christo, amen. Factum est hoc anno dominice incarnationis M. C. lxxii,²⁶⁴ presidente uenerabili A. patriarcha in pat[ri]archali cathedra, et A., inclito latinorum rege quinto, in ierusalem regnante. Huius uero rei testes sunt: dominus patriarcha A., et P.,²⁶⁵ dominice resurrectionis ecclesie prior, et eiusdem ecclesie subprior, et plures alii canonici et clerici. De hominibus autem meis: Comes Gounzelinus,²⁶⁶ Comes Sigebodo, Comes Helgerus, Comes Roudol-

²⁵⁸ Mader has "locavi."

²⁵⁹ This word is subsequently abbreviated by the writer of the diploma. Here he spells it out, and his spelling may indicate a preference for the second-declension forms of *domus*.

²⁶⁰ Mader and Scheid have corrected this spelling to "contiguas."

²⁶¹ Mader has "reditibus," and Scheid "reditu." The word is not abbreviated in the facsimile.

²⁶² For the reason stated above (n. 259) I have extended the abbreviation "dom" to *domorum* rather than *domuum*. Mader and Scheid have "domus."

²⁶³ See below, n. 269 *ad fin.*

²⁶⁴ Mader and Scheid have "millesimo centesimo septuagesimo secundo."

²⁶⁵ According to Röhricht (*Regesta, loc. cit.*), P stands for "Petrus."

²⁶⁶ Mader spells this name "Bonzelinus."

fus,²⁶⁷ Comes Bernhardus,²⁶⁸ Iordanus dapifer, Iusarius frater eius, et plures alii.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ Mader spells this name "Rodolphus"; Scheid, "Rudolphus."

²⁶⁸ Jung makes the following observation (*OG*, V, 18): "Ἐν παρόδῳ notemus, qui in fine Chartae designantur *homines Ducis*, si aliae illius aevi chartae conferantur, fuisse Comitem Gounzelinum *de Suerin*; Comitem Sigebodonom *de Scarfeld*; Comitem Helgerum *de Hohnstein*; Comitem Rudolfum *de Woltingerode*; Comitem Bernhardum *de Razeburg*. Vide nos, si placet, in *Historia Comitatus Benthemiensis*, p. 88." The work cited was inaccessible to me.

²⁶⁹ The facsimile of the diploma (cf. above, n. 256) shows the obverse and the reverse of three seals appendant to its lower edge: to the left, the seal of the canons of the Holy Sepulcher; in the center, the seal of Amalric, patriarch of the Church of the Resurrection; to the right, the seal of King Amalric (I) of Jerusalem. Scheid indicates (*OG*, III, 517) that the seals were of lead. In the autograph of the diploma retained at Jerusalem (cf. above, n. 256), the seal of Henry the Lion presumably had the place occupied in the other autograph by King Amalric's seal.

²⁷⁴ In this matter Editha Gronen (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-60 and n. 46) supports, albeit with a minor reservation, the view of Philippson (pp. 371-73 and, esp. 610-11, n. e). Her statement, however, that Welf VI—after he had agreed to devise his lands to Henry the Lion and would wait no longer for him to remit the stipulated consideration—"began nun mit seinem anderen Neffen, dem Kaiser, Verhandlungen, die dann später zur Uebergabe der *italienischen Besitzungen* [italics mine] sowie auch der Allo-dialgüter führten" (p. 59), hardly squares with what Philippson says; for the latter (cf. p. 610, n. e) does not deny that Welf had conveyed his Italian fiefs to Frederick *before* he opened negotiations with Henry concerning the patrimonial estates. Our information about the transactions in question is derived chiefly from the *Historia Welforum Weingartensis, Continuatio Staingademensis* (ed. L. Weiland, *Monumenta Welforum antiqua* [SSrG (Hanover, 1869)], pp. 41-42 [also in *MGH SS*, XXI, 471]) and the *Chronicle* of Otto of St. Blasius (ed. A. Hofmeister, *Otonis de sancto Blasio chronica* [SSrG (Hanover and Leipzig, 1912)], chap. xxi, pp. 28-29). Otto's account of the transactions is set forth in a chapter which begins with the erroneous statement that Paschal (one of Frederick's antipopes) died in 1167 (really September 20, 1168); the same chapter subsequently (*ibid.*, p. 30, ll. 3 ff.), and without further mention of date, records events that occurred some ten years earlier; and near the end of this chapter (*ibid.*, p. 31, ll. 3-4), reference is made, again without specific indication of date, to Frederick's designation of his son Henry as king (June, 1169). Nevertheless, Philippson (pp. 610-11, n. e) believes that Otto's chronology, plus his own interpretation of "die ganze Lage der Dinge," make it probable "dass diese Vorgänge, die zum Zerwürfniß zwischen dem Kaiser und Heinrich dem Löwen Anlass gaben, in der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 1169 sich abspielten"—especially since the *Annals of the Monastery of Bebenhausen* (written in the sixteenth century!) assign these events to the year 1169. And Editha Gronen agrees, taking exception only to the assumption that the transactions were concluded in 1169 (*loc. cit.*, n. 46). Philippson's and Gronen's mistrust of the *Continuatio Staingademensis* seems entirely unfounded. There can be little doubt that this narrative of the activities of Welf VI during the last twenty-four years of his life was written shortly after Welf's death in 1191 and by someone who had known him well, probably the abbot or a

monk of the monastery of Steingaden—which latter owed its existence to Welf VI, had been munificently endowed by him, and ultimately received his remains (*Cont. Staingad., loc. cit.*, pp. 42–44). As a virtually contemporary record, therefore, the *Continuatio* unquestionably has higher testimonial value than the posterior and more summarized account in Otto's chronicle. And if the author of the *Continuatio* does not, indeed, specify the respective years in which the several transactions took place, yet he indicates clearly the following sequence of events: (1) Welf VI after the death of his son (on September 12, 1167; see the *Historia* to which the *Continuatio* is appended, chaps. xxxi, xxxii, *loc. cit.*, pp. 40–41; also, the *neurologia* cited by Philippson, p. 338, n. *) abandoned himself to a prodigal and dissolute life; (2) he then (presumably after his funds began to give out) transferred to Frederick his Italian fiefs, in return for money enabling him to continue his extravagancy; (3) part of this money Welf gave to monasteries, chiefly Steingaden; (4) "eodem tempore," at Pentecost, he feasted the optimates of Bavaria and Swabia and a multitude of humbler folk "in plano Lici ultra Augustam, in loco qui dicitur Concio legum" (this feast on the Gunzenlee is known to have taken place in the year 1175; see *Monumenta Wessofontana, Codex traditionum*, No. 10, in *Monumenta Boica*, VII [1766], 359; also Anton Steichele, *Das Bisthum Augsburg*, II [Augsburg, 1864], 492–93); (5) "omne demum patrimonium suum Haeinrico fratrueli suo, duci Saxonie et Bawarie, conventionem facta tradere spondit"; (6) "sed orto inter eos [Welf VI and Henry the Lion] dissensionis scandalo, ipsam transactionem ad imperatorem Fridericum et eius filios convertit"; (7) Frederick gave Welf an entirely satisfactory consideration in gold and silver, receiving from him in return his landed inheritance; (8) of this latter, Frederick "quedam in signum possessionis sibi retinuit, reliquis vero ipsum Gwelfonem inbeneficiavit, quedam etiam de suis superaddit." It may well be that the second event in this sequence should be dated as early as 1169 or 1170, i.e., before Henry the Lion's pilgrimage; but there is no reason to suppose with Güterbock (*Der Prozess Heinrichs des Löwen* [Berlin, 1909], p. 35, n. 1) that Henry the Lion took offense at Welf's transfer of his Italian fiefs to Frederick, for Henry had no hereditary claim to these lands (see Haller, *loc. cit.*, p. 344, n. 1). As for the sixth event—whether or not it affected Henry's attitude toward Frederick—the sequence shows that it did not occur before Pentecost, 1175, as Giesebrecht (V, 781–82, 904; VI, 527, 563), Haller (*loc. cit.*), Hampe (*loc. cit.*, pp. 77, n. 1), and Güterbock (*Gelnhäuser Urkunde*, p. 151; cf. his "Barbarossa und H. der Löwe," *loc. cit.*, p. 262) all agree. The work of Salo Adler (*Herzog Welf VI. und sein Sohn* [Hanover, 1881]), in its completed form, was, unfortunately, not available to me; but I gather that it too lends support to the argument here submitted.

²²⁷ Cf. the opinion of Giesebrecht (V, 702). Several of the narrative sources which supply information concerning the judicial proceedings against Henry the Lion in 1178–80, do, it is true, mention a charge of high treason (*reus maiestatis*) or something equivalent thereto (the relevant passages are collated and analyzed in Güterbock, *Prozess Heinrichs des Löwen*, pp. 89 ff.; cf. G. Waitz, "Ueber den Bericht der Gelnhäuser Urkunde von der Verurtheilung Heinrichs des Löwen," in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, X [1870], 161 ff.; D. Schäfer, "Die Verurtheilung Heinrichs des Löwen," *HZ*, LXXXVI [1896], 396 ff.; Haller, *loc. cit.*, pp. 353 ff.); but, with a single exception, none of these sources connects the charge of treason with an alleged Byzantine alliance. The exception is the *Gesta Henrici II. et Ricardi I.* (ed. F. Liebermann, in *MGH SS*, XXVII [1885], 101; also ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I.*, 1169–1192, I ["Rolls Series"] (London,

1867)], 249), in which the following statement appears, *sub anno* 1180: "Preterea imperator ipse [*sc.* Fredericus] dicebat, quod idem dux [*sc.* Henricus dux Saxonie] profectus fuerat ad Manuelem imperatorem Constantinopolitanum in detrimentum ipsius et imperii Romani." Editha Gronen's argument (pp. 124-25), that the author of the *Gesta* "konnte teilweise besser als deutsche Geschichtsschreiber von deutschen Angelegenheiten unterrichtet sein," etc., apparently implies that this author is reporting an accusation against Henry the Lion which the latter had himself made known at the Anglo-Norman court (cf. the words of Haller quoted by Hampe, *loc. cit.*, p. 71). In that case, it may be observed, Henry the Lion must have represented the accusation as untrue and absurd, since he could not have wished to incriminate himself in the opinion of his friends. It is obvious, of course, that the author of the *Gesta*—whatever value one may attach to his testimony (cf. Hampe, *loc. cit.*)—informs us, at most, of an unsubstantiated accusation. Cf. Giesebrecht, VI, 502, 526; Güterbock, *Prozess Heinrichs des Löwen*, p. 93 *ad init.*; Schäfer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 401-2.

To be noted next are the poetical fulminations of Godfrey of Viterbo (*Gesta Friderici*, ed. G. Waitz [SSrG (Hanover, 1872)], pp. 42, 43, 45; also in *MGH SS*, XXII [1872], 332, 334), written *ca.* 1181-84 (*ibid.*, p. 4):

- 1126 "Germina Welfonum iuga despiciunt dominorum,
Munere Grecorum feritas crassatur eorum,
Turbet ut imperii tempora, iura, solum.
- 1147 Dicitur Henricus, dum cesaris esset amicus,
Federis oblitus Greco sociatus iniquo,
Ledit ut imperium Romuleosque situs.
Grecus amicus ei scelus hoc scelerosus adegit,
Spreta lege Dei plenusque dolo Farisei;
Cesaris ense mei pena paratur ei.
Hec ubi prospexit cesar, non crimina textit,
Ultio surrexit, subitanea bella capescit, [A.D. 1180]
Tollit ubique torum rex ducis arva, forum.
- 1159 Anglicus et Siculus, gens Gallica, munera Greci
Nil magis auxilii referent quam lumina cecis.
- 1210 Dum foret Henricus dux presulis huius [*sc.* Guicmanni
archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis] amicus,
- 1211 Non erat attritus guerra neque marte petitus;
Ad ducis imperium plebs erat atque situs.
Ast ubi Greca fides hominem variabit inanem,
Desipuit plane, voluit testudo volare,
- 1218 Deditus, ut decuit, munera Greca luit."

Editha Gronen concedes (p. 125) that "bei Gottfried sich manche Konfusion findet," and that "er in vielen Punkten wenig Glauben verdient, namentlich, weil seine Schilderungen ganz parteiisch kaiserlich gefärbt sind;" but still she insists, "Es muss schon eine sichere Kunde seinen Worten zugrunde liegen." Attention may be directed to the following points: (1) Godfrey ascribes seduction by the Greeks not

only to Henry the Lion (ll. 1147-51, 1159, 1213, 1218) but to the entire brood of the Welfs (ll. 1126-28); (2) his specific accusations against Henry are introduced by a *dicatur*, which raises a legitimate question as to his "sichere Kunde"; (3) ll. 1153-55 and ll. 1210-12—which, in all likelihood, refer, respectively, to the years 1180 (cf. the editor's marginal note) and 1170-78 (cf. above, nn. 46, 48, and Heydel, p. 88 and n. 512)—make it somewhat doubtful whether Godfrey necessarily means that Henry received the Greek gifts and allied himself with Manuel *at the time of the pilgrimage*. This last point, however, which may appear uncertain, need not be pressed. For if Godfrey meant to accuse Henry the Lion of having accepted Greek gold from Manuel Comnenus at Byzantium in 1172, his accusation is belied by direct and credible testimony to the contrary (see above, n. 197). Cf. Giesebrecht, V, 780; VI, 526.

Despite their doubtful relevancy, I may cite two additional sources which have been alleged to indicate that Henry on his pilgrimage entered into treasonable relations with Manuel. The first of these is the Kremsmünster continuation of the *Annals of Melk* (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 31]), which says, *sub anno* 1172: "Heinricus dux Bawariae et duo palatini Ierusalem tendunt. Heinricus dux contra regnum iurat." Whether the second "Heinricus dux" in this context refers to Henry the Lion or Henry Jasomirgott is a debated question (cf. Gronen, p. 125), which can be settled only, if at all, by a much more detailed investigation than has been hitherto undertaken. Even if, with Kap-Herr (p. 101, n. 1) and his followers, we assume—solely for the sake of the argument and without in any wise committing ourselves on the point at issue—that Henry the Lion is meant, which Giesebrecht and others deny, it still remains true (1) that the *Continuatio Cremifanensis* was not written before 1182, at the earliest (see Giesebrecht, VI, 502, 526; and cf. Gronen, *loc. cit.*), i.e., *after* the fall of Henry the Lion, when it was widely believed that he had been guilty of high treason; (2) that its author fails to mention either Byzantium or Manuel; (3) that he says "contra regnum" rather than *contra imperium* or *imperatorem*. These things being so, the testimonial value of the *Continuatio* for establishing Henry the Lion's alleged compact with Manuel as a fact, is precisely nil. The last item we have to examine in this connection is the following statement in a letter written by Frederick Barbarossa to Manuel Comnenus (ed. Kap-Herr, *op. cit.*, p. 157): "Mirari vero non sufficimus, quod, dum fraternum amorem nobis promittis, per nuntios et per pecuniam tuam fideles inperii nostri a nostro servitio et fidelitate avertere niteris." Kap-Herr (*ibid.*, pp. 104-5, n. 6) dates this letter 1177; Chalandon (p. 600), after 1177. The present tense of "niteris" would appear to indicate that Frederick has in mind fairly recent activities of Byzantine *nuntii*; hence, Giesebrecht's view (VI, 526), that the allusion is to Manuel's machinations in Italy *ca.* 1177-78 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 557-58), seems altogether probable (cf. Gronen, p. 126). In any case, Kap-Herr (pp. 101 [n. 1], 108) and Chalandon (p. 601) merely beg the question when they assume that "fideles inperii nostri" means Henry the Lion.

THE SOUTH GERMAN *REICHSTAEDTE* IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES¹

*

ERNEST LAUER

THE *Reichsstaedte* of late medieval Germany present a fascinating subject for the study of social and political experimentation. Less entangled in legal and political anachronism than the older feudalism, they were freer to make adjustments and changes required by the exigencies of the time. This study is intensified by the fact that this experimentation took place in a society hostile to social and intellectual innovations. Perhaps it is more exact to say that this experimentation was necessarily a relentless struggle for existence in a decadent political order. The tragedy of the general situation lay in the fact that the dominant political powers were themselves too disorganized to build an adequate social order but strong enough to resist any efforts of the *Reichsstaedte* to establish a well-knit federation. Under these conditions the various attempts of the *Reichsstaedte* to improve their own status or the general good were doomed to failure. They tried to function in a political order whose constructive efforts seemed self-destruction.

The student of the medieval German *Reichsstaedte* is tempted to speculate upon the nature and degree of influence they might have had upon the course of German national history if they had been invited to participate in the organization of the national political life. Not that they did not

¹ This study, which is but a preliminary survey of the political and economic status of the South German *Reichsstaedte* during the late Middle Ages, was made possible by the generosity of the American Council of Learned Societies and of Northwestern University. A full survey of this problem is in preparation.

exert a decisive influence on the direction and quality of German culture. Much that was culturally significant in late medieval Germany sprang from and was nourished by these cities. There were, however, resources in their political and social life which were needed by the nation as a whole in its efforts to find political expression of its national destiny. If there was any factor in late medieval Germany which could have largely contributed to the articulation of its economy, that factor undoubtedly was the *Reichstaedte*. But we look in vain for any serious understanding or analysis by their political contemporaries of what they could have done for the nation. Rather the impression grows, as we read the pertinent literature, that they were deliberately ignored by the dominant political powers.

It is not our purpose to write an indictment of the social orders which wilfully thwarted the *Reichstaedte* in their growth. It goes without saying that the failure of these cities cannot be adequately understood without a survey of the total situation in which they functioned. It is certainly regrettable that students too often approach this problem with the fixed idea that, since most of the efforts and policies of these cities failed of realization, intensive study of their world is futile. Their failures, it is felt, automatically consign this study to historical oblivion.

It is, therefore, customary to dismiss any investigation of the burghers' psychology and social outlook with the curt remark that they sprang from an incurable provincialism and a contemptible pettiness. If the burghers had only shown greater penetration into their own problems and had given greater evidence of diplomatic ability, they might have done more for themselves as a social order and more for the nation as a spiritual entity. Nevertheless, even though these cities failed to establish a status of equality with the older political groups in the control of national politics, it is important to see that the experiment in the building of metropolitan com-

monwealths was eminently significant for those who attempted it. However miserable the failure, the policies and enterprises of the burghers are not intelligible without a positive effort to envisage the constructive aspects of their work. A review of the full sweep of these efforts will place their social program and work in a light in which a fair understanding is possible. And, if we can reconstruct the psychological and social conditions under which this work was done, we shall be able more sympathetically to understand the cultural orientation of the medieval burghers.

The significant period of *Reichsstaedte* history lies between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries—for the greater part a period of national disorder and conflicts. Fortunately the *Reichsstaedte* acquired their “liberties” while the empire was in a position to grant and defend them. After the collapse of the Hohenstaufen regime, the history of *Reichsstaedte* is essentially a record of vigilance in their efforts to hold these “liberties” against the encroachments of feudal enemies. The emperors and electors of the revived empire never gave evidence of any serious attempt to protect the burghers against their foes, although they were never averse to fleecing them financially. In the face of this stubborn hostility, the burghers were forced to build a political and economic structure which resembled a fortress of concentric walls and moats. In reality, the *Reichsstaedte* were confronted by a perpetual siege, the threats of which were all the more dangerous because they were organized on every front. At most times the military were less effective than the economic and territorial weapons, but inevitably the former decided the fate of the cities. The decisive military test, which was a national crisis as well, came at the close of the fourteenth century. So disastrous was this blow to the material resources and moral energy of the towns that they never regained the means or the courage fully to co-operate with one another for common ends. We can now realize the magnitude of this loss to the

the German nation. In the fifteenth century, when all classes were deeply moved by social and religious discontent, the German people was least organized in the area which could have contributed most toward national stabilization and reconstruction. Some assert that the *Reichstaedte* brought this disaster upon themselves by financial folly and needless provocation of their foes. In the light of all the facts this is a severe and unjustified indictment. Confronted as they were by constant threat of their "liberties," it was repeatedly necessary to make large drafts upon their resources and reserves, both material and human. Anyone who has casually delved into the fiscal problems and the social conflicts of the *Reichstaedte* during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can read for himself the tragic effects of this situation. Nevertheless, the "liberties" were defended and fortified behind economic and political moats. It was, however, a defense which did not add to the solution of national problems. With the passing of the fifteenth century a new political constellation governed national trends, but the *Reichstaedte* were not fitted to play a major role in it.

This lack of understanding of the importance of the *Reichstaedte* in the national economy was in large measure a direct legacy of the bitter struggle of the Hohenstaufen period of German national history. The fatal warp and distortion of national forces and psychology are only intelligible in the light of imperialistic purpose and ideology. Tragedy there was in the wake of the efforts of the imperial party to achieve the supremacy of its political dogmas. More important, however, is the repercussion which followed upon the collapse of these efforts. The empire had failed to educate the leading political forces in co-operation for national ends. After the emperors had dissipated their large patrimony in pursuit of antinational goals, they were forced to sanction a political order and motivation whose essence was civil war. The dominant political forces were thus free to make their own might

prevail; and it is no mere accident that their first victims were the *Reichsstaedte*. Fredrich II signed and sanctioned the fatal decrees which fastened serious limitations upon cities. The political leaders thereby anathematized the policy of Henry IV. From then to the middle of the sixteenth century, to the Interim of Charles V, the *Reichsstaedte* were branded enemies of public weal and became thereby the prey of powerful barons to plunder.

The national life adrift in this manner exposed the *Reichsstaedte* to terrific attacks. There were really only two effective ways to secure their position in the national economy: the first and immediate way was the building of strong metropolitan commonwealths which could be buttressed commercially and physically against any kind of attacks; the other was the organization of leagues to unite all available might against the older estates. Both of these policies were pursued with varying degrees of intelligence and success. Since the high feudality was in possession of all the instruments of national administration and legislation, they were in a position effectively to nullify any major policy of the *Reichsstaedte*. The position of the cities was, therefore, most difficult to maintain even under the most favorable circumstances. It is the purpose of this essay to sketch the unfolding of the policies and methods by which the *Reichsstaedte* erected their metropolitan commonwealths in the period of their greatest effectiveness—the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Our study is limited to the consideration of the problems of the South German *Reichsstaedte*.

We need not here pause to narrate the conflicts and developments attendant upon the rise and growth of the German *Reichsstaedte*. We cannot, however, dispense with the consideration of emphasis and viewpoints in this study.

The usual emphasis in studies of this kind is upon the growth of urban political and social structures without serious consideration of the relationship of urban and rural

forces. It is obvious to every student of social phenomena that social forces function in an interdependent world and must be understood in this interdependence. In the study of the German *Reichstaedte* the student must always keep in mind the fact that these commonwealths could not have existed without deeply building themselves into the life and necessities of the surrounding areas. The *Stadt* was forced by the very terms of its existence to attempt an ordering of the life and resources of the population resident in its metropolitan district. The *Reichstaedte* constituted an effort to organize a political and economic commonwealth, a state which by its very nature had to threaten the feudal orders about it. The constant interplay of rural and urban factors in the creation of this complex interdependent area is the basic fact of *Reichstaedte* history. In our understanding of these cities we must begin with the fact of the metropolitan area—the area commercially and socially dependent upon these cities. The town was of necessity much more than a walled area with moat and ban mile. It was even more than local and European market and industrial organization. It was the realization that the *Reichsstadt* was essentially a different way of organizing the material and human resources of a large area that led to the relentless struggle between barons and towns. The ultimate issue between them was territorial sovereignty, the unchallengeable right to organize and control the metropolitan areas for urban purposes. The visible sinews of this battle were burgomasters, councils, *stadtschreiber*, armies, moats, forts, patrols, and messengers. The real and effective weapons, however, which the burghers forged to retain and fortify their “liberties” and the “liberties” which they conferred upon certain rural persons were rural landownership, control of the sources of food supply, the regulation of the political, social, and legal status of the rural population, social and economic regimentation of the urban population, and the authority of direct and indirect taxation. Even ec-

clesiastical persons and institutions came under their sharp scrutiny.

Ultimately, the agents and instruments for the establishment of security and "liberties" were economic and psychological. Two sovereign groups demanded the right to rule. The older estates employed brute force, blackmail, robbery, chicanery, and intrigue. While employing these also, the burghers relied as much upon the effectiveness of more subtle weapons, the persuasive force of which went more deeply into the realities of the lives of the population in the town and in the surrounding areas. This method of slow penetration into this social world for purposes of peace and profit could only be met by violent force. The barons did not evolve any propaganda comparable in penetrating effectiveness to match that of the realistic burghers. Nevertheless, the organization of urban leagues was necessary to meet the threat of force. Although leagues were valuable factors in blunting the edge of military threats, they were not sufficiently well managed and co-ordinated to produce the most incisive results. The concentrated attack of the feudality at the close of the fourteenth century permanently crippled the towns in their effort to use collective action against their foes. The hope of integrating all the social and economic factors of their metropolitan areas was severely crippled after the *Staedtekrieg*. It was only by accident that any changes in this policy took place; and, when these changes came, they had no appreciable effect on the general position of the *Reichsstaedte*. In most cases these accessions of power brought with them burdens and troubles which imposed unnecessary strains upon the urban economy.

The development of the metropolitan commonwealths was consequently inherent in the very condition under which the *Reichsstaedte* existed. Given the political chaos which was euphemistically called the "Holy Roman Empire" with its attendant economic aspects, this process of building

metropolitan commonwealths was inevitable. Stone walls and moats, ban mile and outposts, were not sufficient to protect the city against its foes. Commercial routes and enterprises, food supply, raw materials for the local workers, and protection of the burghers' property in the outlying villages and districts required something more than mercenary patrols or police. The *Reichstaedte* were forced by existing circumstances to do for themselves what the modern state performs, without possessing the authority and elaborate machinery at the disposal of the modern state. The absence of the strong central authority in Germany forced the *Reichstaedte* to undertake this necessary program of state-building on a limited and very restricted scale. The history of the forces making for national statehood in late medieval Germany is best studied in the status and economy of the *Reichstaedte*. With this area under the influence and control of the towns the modern state vainly struggled for self-expression.

The foundation and configuration of the metropolitan commonwealths were laid by the migration of the rural population to the towns. The extent of the commonwealth was largely determined by geographic and economic factors. Naturally, at first, the magnetic force of urban social and economic freedom revealed only one aspect of the relationship between town and village. After the establishment of a more normal relationship between these areas, the migrating persons did not so quickly break off their ties with the native hearth. This fact, which can be established in the early lists of citizens, indicates the genesis of a social bond whose importance cannot be overestimated if we are to realize the nature and intensity of the forces which sustained urban leadership in its efforts to create an enduring commonwealth.

Obviously, the persons migrating to the towns were the first to benefit from the new status. They received employment in the small shops and by degrees were able to lease small plots of ground and build houses. Frugality and hard

work yielded rewards in full ownership of their homes and active participation in the commercial and industrial life of the community. The combined efforts of many such persons joined with the activity of merchants made the cities the envy of the feudality.

The constant accession of peasants to the urban community inevitably aroused the anger of the rural aristocracy, who were thereby deprived of necessary workers. Some lords gifted with genuine insight realized that this trend could not be arrested by force, but it must be confessed that their number is not legion. Most of the barons joined in attacking the arrangements and concessions which the townspeople offered the rural population. It is not altogether fair to the rural population to assume that it did not make an active bid for better conditions of living under the protection of the city. It was gradually realized that residence within the city was not the *sine qua non* of citizenship. This development indicates how much the normal human relationship of the urban commonwealth was understood by all who lived under its conditions. When this situation fully dawned upon the consciousness of rural and urban persons within the commonwealth, the essential bases of this social order were established. The metropolitan population could thus move in and out of the city, fearless of the social and political consequences of the change of habitat. Further evidence of the maturity of this process can be read in the legislation against the *Pfahlbuergertum* during the fourteenth century. When this kind of threat proved ineffective, resort was had to force. Naturally the lords had the advantage at this point. But it was impossible to destroy this trend by force. The rural population continued to ask for the privileges conferred by the grant of this type of citizenship.

Perhaps the town authorities should have pressed the tremendous advantage in the existence of this good will. What is here important is the fact that the movement of

population to the towns and the subsequent establishment of relations with the rural populations created a human bond which was the essential basis of the metropolitan commonwealth. It seemed to represent a normal tie which, if it had been properly and wisely nurtured, might have found expression in genuine nationalism.

The encouragement of this type of social force was as effective an instrument for the disintegration of feudalism as could be devised. That the landlords were angered by the loss of workers and taxable units is clear. But it is not so clear that they understood the psychological nature of the ties which united burgher and rural population in a common effort for a new civilization. The victory of the feudality over the burghers in the contention for the legality and justice of this status was as severe a blow to urban prestige and authority as was dealt the *Reichsstaedte*. Without support from the rural classes it was practically impossible for the burghers to attempt any kind of constructive social and political program. The strength of the *Reichsstaedte* commonwealth lay in the possibility of extending and fortifying these privileges. Military organization of itself could not have supported these policies.

Besides the human resources of the metropolitan area, the burghers faced the necessity of controlling its raw materials and food supply. Raw stuffs and food were the lifeblood of the towns; to cut them off meant their defeat and destruction. Obviously the town was the market of the metropolitan area; through it the local population acquired the necessities not to be had in the villages or manors. Moreover, much of the raw materials required by the urban craftsmen came from the country. Some of these materials were not absolutely indispensable to the life of the city and did not, in consequence, constitute a subject of dispute and conflict between burgher and baron.

The real issues of conflict necessarily were grain, meats,

and other necessities of life. When we survey the legislation affecting food supply, the market regulations, the laws for seizure of grain supply at harvest and for the confiscation of meat or grain hordes, and the regulation of the keepers of grain supplies in the city granary, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of this problem in the ordering of the urban economy. This matter could not be left to chance or the caprices of the neighboring landlords. The intensity of this phase of the struggle is written in the policies of the landlords, their seizure of grain and of cattle, their diversion of food supplies from the city, and their destruction of ripening grain fields. Here was the real struggle for power and existence. Obviously, the battlefields in this instance were the grain fields and pastures of the metropolitan area about the town upon which the townspeople and the rural population depended for foods. To control and protect these was the life of the burgher and rural population; to lose this control signified starvation, famine, disease, and the specter of surrender to the foe. The feudal lord knew that lack of food was death to the burgher. Therefore, to attack him here was to attack him where he was most vulnerable. *Lebensmitelpolitik* undeniably was the essence of urban politics, of *Machtpolitik*. Food supply, therefore, required a well-ordered metropolitan economy.

It should be kept in mind that the city was the granary of the rural as well as of the urban population. The laws with reference to food control and food sales enforced within the city were frequently applied with equal rigor in the rural districts. In time of siege the peasant population sought refuge within the walls. That they had a right to such protection was indisputable. They had liberally contributed to the means of defense.

The two elements just discussed were very powerful in controlling the economic life of the metropolitan area. By their terms the *Reichsstadt* was the market of this area.

Perhaps it was natural that it should be so, but the effect of this combination of circumstances gave the burgher the power to eliminate any chance in the operation of natural law. The town was the market of the surrounding area; it was also the granary and meat market. The market was the instrument by which the town secured to itself ample and adequate food supply. The town could use physical force to compel goods to be offered for sale within its walls at its own price, if necessary. It also could penalize any attempt to speculate upon or manipulate the market by rural population or burgher. The market was, therefore, not only a necessity to supply raw stuffs to the worker; it was part of the system of defense of the urban economy. Control of the agrarian economy about the town assuredly was absolutely necessary. This control could not be satisfactory until the burgher penetrated deeply into the agrarian life by means of public power—legal and judicial—landownership, new types of citizenship, and other methods which made the relation with the town more attractive than relation with the feudal barons. The strength of the urban position lay in the ability of the burgher statesmanship to co-ordinate and integrate the above-mentioned factors. That the burgher pursued this policy with undeviating tenacity indicates the fierceness of the battle which he had to fight for the right to exist.

The penetration of the urban administration into the life of the surrounding areas represents the positive aspect of their policy to control and, if possible, to dominate it. Patrols and military camps were the visible agents of this policy, but they were by their very nature inadequate to bring about the necessary stability and social integration.

The genesis of this phase of urban penetration into the metropolitan area is the acquisition of real property in it by the wealthy burghers. Undeniably, some of this property was owned or purchased for purely sentimental reasons, i.e., to keep alive family ties in the ancestral villages. It would be

folly to claim that most, if not all, the other purchases were made in a deliberate attempt to strengthen the political power of the city council in the metropolitan areas. It is here suggested that those who were able to buy real property in the outlying districts were in general agreement with the city council's public policy and were consequently ready to support materially and morally any attempt of their leaders to use real property to extend and consolidate political and economic power. Conflicts between burghers and barons over outlying property undoubtedly revealed to the city fathers the real possibilities latent in this situation. A combination of these and the other possibilities above mentioned made for greater coercion and control of the forces of the metropolitan area. The burgher's interests were also served by the articulation of the agencies which protected his extraurban rights and resources.

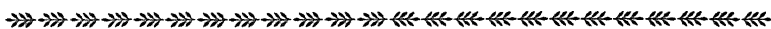
This step once taken led naturally and inevitably to interferences in the whole cycle of village and rural life. Caution had to be exercised in consolidation of these possibilities, lest the angry feudality frustrate the further extension of the program of the city council.

The protection of the burgher's property was but one of the reasons for steady penetration into the metropolitan area. Commerce, roads, gardens, farms, fields, grain supply—all these and other factors urged interference. What these policies signified in added financial burdens and political worry can be easily surmised.

The extent of the areas directly controlled or owned by the South German *Reichsstaedte* was not very large. Some of the cities, notably Nuernberg, acquired fairly large feudal holdings in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The acquisitions turned out to be sources of constant trouble with neighboring lords, who used them as means to harass and torment the town governments. They became the occasions

of petty wars, endless legal disputes, and financial worries. It was exceedingly difficult to fit these areas into the urban economy.

The strength of the *Reichsstaedte*, therefore, lay in the protection and fostering of the normal commercial and social relations of the metropolitan commonwealths. These forces provided the condition for the interplay of private and official activities in the advancement of the peace and profit and social good will, which nourished and sustained both rural and urban populations.



MEDIEVAL MEDICAL DICTIONARIES AND GLOSSARIES

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L. C. MACKINNEY

MUCH has been made of the medieval tendency to epitomize past information rather than to seek new knowledge. Truly the Middle Ages were slow in developing the spirit and equipment for original research. Glossaries, concordances, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and *summa* were more prevalent than monographs. But the inference, often drawn, to the effect that the compilers of such compendia were *ipso facto* unintelligent pedants is unwarranted. Many of the medieval epitomizers were so successful that their compilations have stood the acid test of time. From pre-Carolingian Gaul, a period and region that are sometimes designated as the darkest of the dark ages, came the *Liber glossarium*, which Du Cange centuries later used as the basis for his great *Glossarium*. The Du Cange glossary, it is needless to state, has served philologists and other scholars even to the present day. Only recently have its shortcomings finally led to a co-operative movement for a new glossary of medieval Latin. This, it may be noted, is merely the most noteworthy of several instances of the compiling tendency in our own age. The Harvard School of Business Administration has sponsored a successful glossary of medieval terms of business, and the History of Science Society has recently taken cognizance of the rising demand for a dictionary of medieval terms of medicine and general science. In the light of such developments, the medievalists of the twentieth century may well examine with sympathetic

interest the work of the epitomizers of the medieval centuries.¹

Even in the rather restricted field of medical literature, there are to be found various types and innumerable examples of compendia. From the early centuries of the Middle Ages scholars constantly organized and reorganized the existing body of scientific knowledge. This process was not, as is often inferred, merely a successive condensing of classical medical literature until it was reduced to the vanishing-point. Like their predecessors during the heyday of the Roman Empire, many medieval scholars were practical, intelligent, and constructive in their revisions of the medical knowledge of former days. The spirit and purpose that motivated such an epitomizer can be seen in the Preface of Paul

¹ The late Stephen d'Irsay presented some interesting information on medical glossaries in "An Historical Dictionary of Medicine," *Kyklos*, I (1928), 157-59. For further information the following are useful: in the *Bulletin Du Cange*, P. Jourdan, "A Propos des glossae medicinales" (III, 121 ff.); H. Goelzer's review of Heiberg's *Glossae medicinales* (I, 124 ff.); and A. Thomas, "Notes lexicographiques sur recettes medicales" (V, 97 ff.); N. Groen, *Lexicon Anthimeum; un lexique complet de la langue d'Anthimi de observatione ciborum* (Paris, 1926); A. Fenahan, *Arabic and Latin Anatomical Terminology* (Christiania, 1922); J. Heiberg, *Glossae medicinales* (Copenhagen, 1924); M. Steinschneider, "Für der Literatur der Synonyma," in J. Pagel's edition of Mondeville's *Chirurgia* (Berlin, 1892); G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1882), Vols. I and III, Introductions; O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England* (London, 1864). There is very little in English on medical compendia; the following have brief, general accounts: G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore, 1931), II, Part I, 49-53; L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), I, 568 ff.; and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XII, 127. There is much unexplored material of an alphabetical nature in the MSS. I have cited below a few of the extant MSS of which I have notations. For much of the English material I am indebted to Mr. J. Grimes, who has made a careful study of the MS catalogues. There is also much uncatalogued material in English MSS. At Par in Cornwall, Mrs. Dorothea Singer has a card catalogue of scientific MSS in English libraries, which contains a wealth of material as yet little known or used. Most of the Continental MSS I have consulted either directly or in photostats. The Army Medical Library in Washington, D.C., has copies of most of the medieval compendia that are in print, and I am indebted to the staff for their kindness in making these available. I also have Dr. Henry Sigerist to thank for valuable suggestions and corrections, and I wish here to express my appreciation to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant in aid by means of which I was able to examine MSS in several European libraries.

of Aegina's seventh-century encyclopedia of medicine.² He made the practical observation that there was a real need for such works in medical science; books of ready reference were particularly useful for physicians whose work often required speedy action, and in the case of physicians in outlying regions, where the more detailed medical works were inaccessible, they were invaluable. Incidentally, Paul's own work was no mere compilation but contained much original information.

In the Western world during the early medieval centuries the chief activity of medical writers was the translation of Greek works and the copying of Latin treatises for libraries which had been depleted. As a consequence, Western medicine was predominantly classical, and most writers of medical works concerned themselves with the revision of this material into handy form rather than with the addition of new information.³

It was only during the last five centuries of the Middle Ages (1000-1500) that the content of medical compendia changed much in either quantity or quality. Then the new medical knowledge contributed by the Arabs and by Westerners was added to the existing body of classical learning. A mere glance at the increasing number of items, the new technical terms, and the nonclassical writers cited in late medieval compendia is ample evidence that, from the eleventh century on, the body of medical lore was expanding rapidly.

Throughout the Middle Ages, however, compilers took

² *Τρόμνημα* or *Ἐπιτομή τῆς Ἰατρικῆς*; printed by Aldus in Venice in 1528; English translation by Francis Adams (London, 1844-47). The best edition is by J. Heiberg, *Corpus medicorum Graecorum* (Berlin, 1921-24), Vol. IX.

³ M. Neuburger in his *Geschichte der Medizin* (Stuttgart, 1921), II, Part I, 255, describes the situation as follows: "The fountain head of medical lore consisted of the late Roman authors and more or less free Latin translations from works of Greek or early Byzantine literature. . . . The ground work was further elaborated by various compilations made from it [Caelius Aurelianus], and collected in encyclopedias. For many centuries, apart from mere copying, this was the end of all literary activity; from this the tendency to the evolution of a *summa medicinae* appears more and more distinctly."

over much of their form of organization from classical medical writings. This is especially noticeable in the prevalence of abridged versions of Roman works and translations of Greek medical treatises. Whatever changes were made were usually in the interests of practical utility. For instance, standard classical works, such as those of Hippocrates, Dioscorides, and Galen, were sometimes rearranged into handy alphabetical form.⁴

Only one type of medieval medical material is conspicuous for its lack of organization. Individual pharmaceutical prescriptions are found in the most outlandish places, even in the margins of treatises that have no relation to medicine. Evidently there was a great deal of interest in remedies, and they were noted down everywhere in informal fashion. There were, also, collections of such material, organized into handbooks of *materia medica*. Furthermore stray recipes and fragments of information tended to creep into the texts of classical works. Thus it was that standard medical works were constantly changed by reason of interpolations from foreign sources.

Most of the medieval medical compendia took one or the other of two major trends; either the topical organization of the original classical encyclopedia or the alphabetical arrangement of the modern encyclopedia or dictionary. There were many types of topical organization; by diseases, by medical substances, or according to the three major fields of medicine—regimen, surgery, and pharmacy. The favorite topical arrangement seems to have been one taken from classical medicine—by diseases, starting with those of the head and ending with those of the feet.⁵

⁴ See below, pp. 253 ff., for alphabetical versions of Dioscorides and Galen. An early catalogue (1608) of MSS of the monastery of St. Blaise lists an alphabetical version of the aphorisms of Hippocrates (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Vol. XXV [1901]). An *Oeconomia Hippocratis alphabeti serie distincta* was published by A. Foesius (Frankfort, 1588).

⁵ The following will indicate the prevalence of this organization. Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones medicamentorum* (first century); Quintus Serenus Sam-

The alphabetical, like the topical, arrangement in medieval medical compendia seems to have been taken over from the ancients. This was particularly noticeable in the pharmaceutical handbooks, the majority of which followed the alphabetical order which had been employed in Galen's popular *Book of Simples*. Often, however, the alphabetical order was combined with the topical order, being used only for a portion of a larger encyclopedic work.⁶ In general, it may be said that the alphabetical arrangement was used (1) rather rarely for general medical treatises, (2) quite often for handbooks of materia medica, and (3) universally for medical glossaries and lexicons. In the succeeding pages we shall examine the use of the alphabetical form of organization in these three types of medical handbooks.

monicus, *De medicina praecepta saluberrima* (third century); Theodore Priscian, *Euporiston*, Book I (fourth century); Cassius Felix, *De medicina* (fifth century); Caelius Aurelianus, *De morbis acutis et chronicis* (fifth century); Paul of Aegina's epitome, Book III (seventh century, Byzantine); Benedictus Crispus, *Commentarium medicinale* (seventh century); Rasis, *Liber ad Almansorem*, Book IX (tenth century, Arabic); and many others of later centuries. Since it is our purpose in this paper to deal with only the medical dictionaries (i.e., alphabetically organized compendia), we omit further details concerning the "head to foot" organization and other topical arrangements.

⁶ This was the case in several compendia from the early Middle Ages; notably Book III in the ninth-century St. Gall MS 762, and Books IV-V of the *De simplicibus* attributed to Oribase (published by J. Schottus [Strassburg, 1533]). The alphabetical *Concordancia* and *Areolae* of John of St. Amand (thirteenth century) were merely certain parts of his *Revocativum memoriae*, a topical handbook. Guy de Chauliac's *Chirurgia magna* has six books arranged according to the popular "head to foot" order, followed by a seventh on antidotes, with the first half arranged according to diseases and the second half according to remedies in alphabetical order. Some of the works of Rasis, Avicenna, and other Arabic writers also have alphabetical sections. The same tendency is found in the general encyclopedias. Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* has a glossary or lexicon (Book X). Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale* contains six books (IX-XIV) of alphabetical treatises on aromatics, cultivated herbs, and other materia medica. His *Speculum doctrinale* has an alphabetical dictionary of 230 items (*abavus* to *zodia*) in Book I. Bartholomew Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum* has alphabetical dictionaries of birds, countries, precious stones, trees and herbs, and animals (Books XII-XIX). Albertus Magnus inserted alphabetical sections in Book XXII of *De animalibus* and Book VI of *De vegetabilibus et plantis* but apologized for using an arrangement which he considered "not appropriate to philosophy" but useful for "instructing a rustic intelligence."

I. GENERAL MEDICAL DICTIONARIES

It has been said that in medical works of the Middle Ages the alphabetical order occurs only in herbals and pharmaceutical treatises.⁷ A survey of some of the general handbooks of medicine shows the inadequacy of this statement. There are extant many compendia that may be called general medical dictionaries; that is, they contain information of a miscellaneous nature, alphabetically organized. Such treatises were, to be sure, conspicuously infrequent in the early medieval centuries and rather rare even in the later Middle Ages.⁸ Among these was one very rare type of compendium, the *concordancia*. These were alphabetical collections of excerpts of various kinds from classical, Arabian, and Western writers. The earliest known use of the term "concordance" in medical literature occurs in the tenth-century *Historia* (IV, 50) in which Richer of Rheims told how he had persuaded Master Heribrand of Chartres to read with him "the

⁷ See the statement of J. Pagel (ed.), *Die Concordantiae des Johannes de Sancto Amando* (Berlin, 1894), p. xxi.

⁸ From the eleventh and twelfth centuries we have several important and little-known examples. Munich 4622, an eleventh-twelfth-century MS, has an alphabetical treatise that begins with *afformismus est sermo diffinitus* . . . and ends with two entries for *ventus*: viz., *ventus est malus aeris* . . . and *ventus est sensibilis motio aeris a nubio* . . . This is quite similar to the thirteenth-century concordances in subject matter and organization but lacks the citations of references that characterize concordances (see below). Similar characteristics are to be found in a twelfth-century Salernitan MS at Breslau (qu 1302), in a set of four alphabetical treatises entitled *De nominibus herbarum, et specierum, et morborum, et allorum que autonomas ponuntur*. The first is a list of herbs, *aristologia to olibanum*; the second, a list of simples, *anagalla to zedoar*; the third, a list of diseases, *apoforesis to zimia*; and the fourth, a general list suggestive of a concordance. The last mentioned begins with *apoplexia est opilatio omnium ventriculorum* . . . and ends (like the Munich list) with *ventus*; the wording is, however, different (*ventus est fumus siccus* . . .). Both MSS have been published (H. Bulzli, *Vokabularien* . . . in *Studien z. G. Medizin* [1931], Vol. XXI). It is my opinion that the two concordance-like lists are an outgrowth of earlier lists, with, however, added detail of explanation. Furthermore, they may be examples of an early type of concordance which had not yet developed the accuracy of cited references. Above all, they are interesting and important examples of the early tendency toward the formation of dictionaries of general medical information.

book entitled *De concordia Hippocratis, Galeni, et Surani*.⁹ As indicated by the title of this earliest known *concordancia*, the general purpose of such works was to mobilize excerpts from various writers. The alphabetical order served to facilitate rapid reference, at the same time preserving the identity of the individual excerpts.

The earliest extant *concordancia* is the thirteenth-century *Concordanciae Johannis de Sancto Amando*.¹⁰ It is alphabetically arranged according to the first and second letter of each entry; it begins with seven excerpts on *abstinentia* (from Galen) and ends with ten on *ydromel* (all from Galen). There are also citations from Avicenna and a few from Mesue, Rasis, Aristotle, etc. The fourteenth-century *Concordanciae Petro de Sancto Floro* was an expansion of, and an improvement on, the work of John of St. Amand.¹¹ Peter omitted many of the Galen excerpts of John's concordance but added excerpts from many other writers. Furthermore, Peter's organization was better; alphabetization was carried out to the third letter of each entry, and the entries were better unified. His method and purpose are suggested in the Preface, which reads as follows:

Here begins the *florum medicinae* compiled by Master Peter of Saint Fleur, regent in the faculty of medicine of Paris. . . . He gathered from all the authors of medical books the flowers which are esteemed by zealous physicians . . . and proceeding after the order of John of Saint Amand, who compiled a similar work from certain books of Galen, he took these and added other quotations, even the medical material from Aristotle, and arranged them in alphabetical order.¹²

⁹ Since no such work has come to light, we can only conjecture as to its contents and organization. It seems probable that it was an alphabetical handbook of excerpts from the three classical authors mentioned in the title. Sudhoff and Diepgen, however, identify it with a nonalphabetical *Passionarius*. On this question see my "Tenth Century Medicine as Seen in the *Historia* of Richer of Rheims," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*, II (1934), 359 f.

¹⁰ Pagel, *op. cit.* See, however, above, n. 8 on eleventh-twelfth-century "concordances."

¹¹ Pagel (ed.), *Nachträge zu den Concordanciae des Johannes de Sancto Amando, aus den Concordanciae des Petrus de Sancto Floro* (Berlin, 1896).

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

Both of these concordances, it should be noted, contained medical information of a general character. There were, for instance, entries concerning *aer*, *anima*, *aqua*, *cibus*, *color*, *diabetes*, *diaeta*, *farmacia*, *Galienus*, *homo*, *medicus*, *miles*, *puer*, *vapor*, *vox*, etc., and also concerning more strictly medical topics.

Even more comprehensive in subject matter is a fourteenth-century concordance (as yet unpublished) entitled *Concordantiae multorum librorum ad scientiam rerum naturalium spectantur*.¹³ It contains extended explanations not only of medical topics but also of other scientific phenomena. There are, for instance, articles concerning *abstractio*, *animal*, *antipodes*, *astrologus*, *magica ars*, *metallum*, *orbis*, *(h)orologium*, *planeta*, *plumbum*, *sexus*, *terremotus*, and *zodiacus*. Some topics run to as many as twenty pages, and there are references to the works of classical, Arabic, and medieval scholars, with definite citations of titles of books and chapter numbers.

Although concordances flourished during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the realm of philosophical and theological writing, in medicine they seem to have been eclipsed by other types of compendia. Most of the general medical handbooks of these centuries circulated under the titles *dictionaria*, *thesauri*, *bibliotheca*, or some such general name. Although many of these were brief and very sketchy, they were true medical dictionaries in that they contained general information, in unified topics, alphabetically arranged.¹⁴ There is, however, one group the members of which

¹³ It follows a *capitula librorum physicorum* of Aristotle in an originally French MS, which belonged to the private collection of Jacques Rosenthal of Munich (MS 38) but has recently been sold.

¹⁴ The following are the titles of a few of the extant examples in MSS: *Index seu dictionarium medicum*, *Index morborum et remediorum*, *Thesaurus Arnoldi de Villanova*, *Thesaurus medicus*, *Medicamentorum thesaurus*, *Medicine simplices(?) a diversis doctoribus collectae secundum ordinem alphabeti*. A *Dictionarius quorundam tractatum* is listed in a sixteenth-century catalogue of MSS of Fulda (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Vol. XXVI [1902]).

are so completely skeletonized that they might be classed as indexes rather than as dictionaries. Several of these, which appear under the name *concordanciae*, are merely alphabetical lists of references and contain no detailed medical information. For instance, in the fourteenth-century Munich manuscript already mentioned, there is a short list of medicaments, with references to works by Pliny, Avicenna, etc., but without any explanatory detail. Even more index-like are the so-called concordances found at the end of a thirteenth-century French manuscript of Macer Floridus.¹⁵ These are apparently merely a set of cross-referenced indexes to the Macer Floridus treatise. During the late Middle Ages such indexes were very common.¹⁶ An excellent example of the complex character of the late medieval index is to be found in the printed edition of the *Chirurgia magna* of Guy de Chauliac. It contains five separate indexes, entitled *Interpretatio Dictionum Anatomicarum, Pathologicarum, Pharmaceutica-*

¹⁵ Paris Arsenal 967.

¹⁶ Arabic medical literature seems to have been better provided with such aids than was the older Latin literature. Whereas Dioscorides, Galen, Paul of Aegina, and in later times Albertus Magnus (see above, n. 6) were rather disdainful of the alphabetical type of organization for genuinely scholarly works, the Arabs made much use of it. The great medical treatises of Rasis, Avicenna, and others were provided not only with indexes to the nonalphabetical sections but also with glossaries of technical terms (see below, pp. 264 ff., under *synonyma*). Almost all of the MS versions, as translated into Latin during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, were liberally supplied with such aids. Detailed listing of examples is (for our present purpose) unnecessary and impossible. From the innumerable instances of such indexes which I have noted in MSS in various Continental libraries, I feel sure that the custom spread rapidly during the late medieval centuries. E.g., many earlier MSS (non-Arabic in origin) have indexes inserted in margins or blank spaces, in a later hand. I hope, in the near future, to publish some of the detailed information I have collected concerning indexes, tables, and other mechanical aids in medical MSS. So far as the earlier, non-Arabic material is concerned, there is also evidence (though rather scanty) that some sort of indexing was developing. E.g., in a ninth-century MS (Paris BN 6880) there is a nonalphabetical *index medicinarum*; and a tenth-century MS (Paris BN 6862) has a nonalphabetical list of remedies; each has references to chapters in the accompanying treatise. Dr. Henry Sigerist informs me that the *Herbarium Apuleii* is often preceded by such tables of contents. It seems obvious that such nonalphabetical tables of contents must have gradually evolved into alphabetical indexes.

rum, *Chirurgicarum*, and *De operationibus chirurgicis*. Each index has extended explanations, citations of passages in the treatise, and in some cases pictorial illustrations.¹⁷

During the later medieval centuries the alphabetical organization appeared in similarly complex form in the more substantial medical treatises. There were formidable dictionaries of remedies, of diseases, of remedies and diseases, and of general medical information of a miscellaneous nature. For examples of the most highly organized handbooks of this type we may cite a late fourteenth-century compiler, Jacobus de Dondus of Padua. His *Enumeratio remediorum simplicium et compositorum*, which is a substantial volume of *materia medica*, is composed of separate alphabetical lists of remedies for various kinds of surgical cases.¹⁸ In similarly effective fashion, his *Promptuarium medicinae*¹⁹ mobilized in over a hundred alphabets the various classes of medicines; e.g., warm, cold, dry, warm and dry, and those for various diseases. His *Aggregator de medicinis simplicibus* likewise illustrates the manner in which the alphabetical organization was carried throughout an entire work.²⁰ In all three of Dondus' treatises the items were brief one- or two-line statements, often with references to the sources. The alphabetical order was carried out to the third and fourth letter of each item. These three stout volumes of medical alphabets are in reality a topically organized encyclopedia of medical dictionaries. It should be noted, however, that Dondus dealt with only one phase of medicine, namely, pharmaceutical remedies.

The same trend is noticeable in those dictionaries in which the remedies were organized by diseases. In the fifteenth cen-

¹⁷ Guy de Chauliac, *Chirurgia magna* (1585).

¹⁸ P. Uffenbach, *Thesaurus chirurgiae* (Frankfort, 1610), has the text of the *Enumeratio*.

¹⁹ Published at Venice in 1576.

²⁰ The *Aggregator* appears in a beautifully printed volume of the early printers' art, without indication of date or place.

tury a French royal physician named Jacobus de Partibus compiled such a work under the title *Summula super plurimis remediis ex ipsius Mesue libris excerptis*.²¹ An even better example, from the standpoint of organization, is the *Holme de simplicibus medicinis*, in which the diseases are arranged in alphabetical order, and under each disease is an alphabetical list of remedies.²² The *Alphabetum empiricum* attributed to Dioscorides and Stephen of Athens, which is also an excellent example of this type of dictionary, is in reality a translation of an older Greek compilation.²³ In general, however, medieval *passionarii* used the classical form of "head to foot" organization rather than the alphabetical arrangement.²⁴

Sufficient evidence has been cited in the foregoing pages to indicate at least that the alphabetical arrangement was by no means limited to any one type of medical handbook. There were, especially toward the end of the Middle Ages, alphabetically organized treatises of all kinds. The least in evidence and apparently the last to appear was the general handbook of miscellaneous information, comparable to the modern handy medical dictionary. Such works are extant only in manuscripts of the fourteenth century or later.²⁵

²¹ Printed at Lyons in 1500.

²² CU Peterhouse College has a fifteenth-century MS (No. 168) which reads, "medicine simplices a diversis doctoribus collecte secundum ordinem alphabetorum, morbis secundum ordinem positis iam petentes . . . abhominacio . . . yliaco."

²³ The full title is *Alphabetum empiricum sive Dioscorides et Stephani Atheniensis philosophorum et medicorum, de remediis expertis liber, iuxta alphabeti ordinem digestis* (s.l., 1581). Stephanus Magnetes is thought to have been the compiler (see E. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* [Königsberg, 1856], III, 365 ff.).

²⁴ In the many alphabetical treatises I have seen in MSS, there are relatively few that are arranged by diseases. Among these the following are outstanding: Breslau qu 1302 (twelfth century), Florence Laurentian Aed. 165 and Strozzi 70 (both fifteenth century), Basle D II 13 (fifteenth century), BM Sloane 3468 (fourteenth century), and 1775.

²⁵ It seems probable that such handbooks were an outgrowth of *concordanciae*. One example, Paris BN 11207 (thirteenth century), contains not only medical but also religious information. There are several others that comprise entire volumes and are restricted to solely medical material. Perhaps the finest example is an Ashburnham MS at Florence, Laurentian 1449 (fifteenth century).

II. ALPHABETICAL ANTIDOTARIA

Turning from the general medical compendia to those of a more specialized nature, we find in the field of *materia medica* our best examples of the alphabetical handbook. Of the three major fields of medieval medicine (*viz.*, regimen, surgery, and pharmacy), pharmacy was that in which the greatest use was made of the alphabetical organization. Throughout the Middle Ages alphabetically arranged compendia of *materia medica* were common, and there are extant manuscripts from the ninth century on. In this realm there were two distinct categories: (1) the *libri de simplicibus*, which dealt with simple substance, and (2) the *antidotaria* and *receptaria*, which concerned themselves with compounds. In both classes alphabetical handbooks were common.

Lists of compounds, appearing under the names *antidotaria* or *receptaria*, seem to have been quite generally used during the Middle Ages, even by men who were not physicians.²⁶ In most of these collections the items were grouped in classes according to the type of compound, *i.e.*, salves and ointments (usually called "unguents"), powders, theriacs, cathartics, electuaries, oils, pills, etc. The classes of compounds often appear in alphabetical order. The earliest known Western dictionary of compounds²⁷ was the twelfth-century *Antido-*

²⁶ E.g., Fulbert, bishop of Chartres during the first quarter of the eleventh century, in a letter to Bishop Adalberon of Laon, suggested that "the strength and method of administering or taking theriacs is easily found in your *antidotaria*" (Letter IV, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLI). Neither of these bishops was a trained physician but, like most clerics of the time, knew the rudiments of practical medicine. Dr. Henry Sigerist has published several early medieval *receptaria* from various regions of Europe, in *Studien z. G. der Medizin*, Vol. XIII (Leipzig, 1923).

²⁷ I am confining this study to Western Europe. Byzantine and Arabic literature abounds in such works, many of which exerted a great influence in the West. So far as the Western antidotaries are concerned, I cite only the printed editions. The MSS of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries contain many examples of the *Antidotarium Nicolai* in abridged and expanded versions. To mention only a few: Paris BN 6114 has an abridged and versified version; BN 16191 has an expanded and glossed version; BN 7009, 7010, 15113, and 16187 are beautiful examples of the expanded version, several of them comprising entire codices.

tarium Nicolai, compiled by some unknown Salernitan. It contains almost one hundred and fifty formulas, including many *antidota*, *confectiones*, *olea*, *potiones*, *pillulae*, *theriacae*, *trochisci*, and *unguentes*; also special compounds named for their traditional inventors, etc. The treatise became so popular that it has been called the basis of Western pharmacopœia.²⁸ It is thought to have been the chief source for the poetical Salernitan antidotary which appears in Part II of the *Flos Salernitana*.²⁹ Its influence is also apparent in the thirteenth-century alphabetical poem of Giles de Corbeil, which treats of about eighty compounds,³⁰ and in Part II of the *De electione et viribus medicamentorum* of Otto Cremonensis.³¹ The *Antidotarium Nicolai* was also translated into the vernacular languages and into Arabic. Sometimes, however, compilers took liberties with the original. In the fifteenth century a Tarentine named Saladin of Asculo compiled a *Compendium aromatariorum*, in the Preface of which he mentioned his indebtedness to the *Antidotarium Nicolai*. In arrangement and names of compounds the two works are similar, but the subject matter of Saladin's *Compendium* was much inferior.³² One other example of alphabetical antidotary should be mentioned, viz., the *Areolae* of John of St. Amand (thirteenth

²⁸ It was often combined with other antidotaries; e.g., *Liber antidotarii Nicholaii, Mesue, Rasis, et Galieni*, listing compounds from *Aurea Alexandra* to *Yera pigra* (in fifteenth-century CU Trinity College MS 1422, fols. 27 ff.).

²⁹ Rienzi, *Collectio Salernitana* (Naples, 1852-59), Vol. V. The antidotary, comprising ll. 1200 ff., describes about one hundred compounds, from *acharistum*, *adrianum*, etc., to *zinziber* and *zuccarum*.

³⁰ *Libri de laudibus et virtutibus compositorum medicaminum metricè compositi, in Carmina medica*, ed. L. Choulant (Leipzig, 1826). The poem begins with *Aurea antidotum* and ends with three *yera*'s.

³¹ The *De electione* is in L. Choulant's edition of *Macer de viribus herbarum* (Leipzig, 1832). It begins with *Aurea Alexandrina* and ends with unguents but is not entirely in alphabetical order.

³² To cite only one instance, under *Adrianum*, the *Antidotarium* has a detailed description of the compound and its uses, whereas the *Compendium* has only a two-line explanation of the origin of the name couched in the most puerile and foolish language.

century). The first part was a book of pharmaceutical recipes arranged alphabetically according to classes of compounds.³³

ALPHABETICAL BOOKS OF SIMPLES

More prevalent than the alphabetical handbooks of compounds were those of the *materia medica* from which compounds were made. These books of simples (*libri de simplicibus*) were for the most part herbals based on the works of Dioscorides and other Greek writers. Although Dioscorides did not write an alphabetical book of simples, he did provide the principal corpus of material from which both Greek and Latin alphabets were compiled; viz., his five books *Περὶ Ὑλῆς Ἰατρικῆς*. Sometime between the time of Galen (second century) and Oribase (fourth century), a Greek alphabetical version of Dioscorides was produced. The evolution of this alphabetical version has been described as follows by Dr. Charles Singer:

Besides the synonyms and the figures from the herbals that had passed into Recension a [of the non-alphabetical Dioscorides], parts of the text of Krateuas and of another illustrated herbal passed into a descendant of that recension. This version was then alphabetically rearranged, and may be designated as *Dioscorides alphabeticus*. From this rearrangement, Oribasios . . . writing about the year 400, made excerpts. . . . To the class derived from the alphabetical rearrangements of the fourth century belong the earliest and most beautiful of the manuscripts of Dioskurides. First of these is the *Juliana Anicia*, written in capitals [in the sixth century]. . . . Next in beauty and age is a half-uncial MS of the seventh century, the *Neapolitanus*.³⁴

Both the alphabetical and the nonalphabetical Dioscorides seem to have been translated into Latin for Western use in

³³ See Pagel's edition, *Die Areolae* (Berlin, 1894); also the detailed analysis of the work in Neuburger, *op. cit.*, p. 370. Sarton, *op. cit.*, II, Part II, 1090, has a brief account.

³⁴ "The Herbal in Antiquity," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLVII (1927), 24. Dr. Singer's article has an excellent chart in which he traces the line of descent of the main families of the Greek alphabetical Dioscorides. See also M. Wellman's remarks, "Die Pflanzennamen des Dioskurides," *Hermes*, XXXIII (1898), 360 ff., and in Pauly-Wissowa, under "Dioskurides."

the fifth or sixth century.³⁵ The Latin alphabetical Dioscorides must have been in use in the West during the early Middle Ages, but the earliest extant manuscript is from the eleventh or twelfth century.³⁶

By the late eleventh or early twelfth century the alphabetical version, by this time much interpolated, was in common use throughout the West.³⁷ Peter of Abano who lectured on Dioscorides at Padua late in the thirteenth century explained that the alphabetical version was more prevalent in the West than the five-book nonalphabetical treatise. According to Lynn Thorndike, Peter's own manuscript, with the above-mentioned explanations in the Preface, is now extant in Paris (BN 6820). It ends as follows: *Explicit dyascorides quem Petrus Paduensis legendo correxit*. This version was printed at Colle in 1478 under the title *Dioscorides digestus alphabetico ordine*.³⁸ The alphabetical Dioscorides also served as the basis for an Arabic treatise, which was translated under the title *Liber Serapionis aggregatus in medicinis simplicibus*, by Simon Januensis (i.e., of Genoa) in the late thirteenth century. Naturally, in the course of its dissemination, the original core of purely Dioscorides material was

³⁵ See Valentin Rose, *Anecdota Graeca et Graeco-Latina* (Berlin, 1870), II, 115, concerning this remarkable era of translations. Concerning the Latin translations of Dioscorides, see Pagel-Sudhoff, *Geschichte der Medizin* (Berlin, 1915), p. 166; and Singer, *op. cit.*, in which there is an excellent chart of the descent of the non-alphabetical Latin Dioscorides and the Greek alphabetical Dioscorides. So far as the descent of the Latin alphabetical Dioscorides is concerned, Dr. Singer's chart and text are less specific, and I know of no treatise in which this evolution is worked out in detail from the original MS sources. In Thorndike (*op. cit.*, I, 610 ff.) there is an excellent brief summary of the subject but only after the eleventh century. Dr. Beccaria of Milan informs me that he is working on the problem and will publish his conclusions in the near future.

³⁶ Bamberg, L III 9.

³⁷ Besides the Bamberg MS (L III 9), Bologna University (MS 378) and CU Jesus College (MS 44) have twelfth- and twelfth-thirteenth-century versions entitled *Dioscorides per modum alphabeti de virtutibus herbarum et compositione olerum*. St. Michael's monastery in Venice once had an alphabetical Dioscorides *de simplicibus* (MS 6). Paris BN has thirteenth-fourteenth-century MSS 6819, 6820, 6821.

³⁸ See Thorndike, *op. cit.*, I, 610; II, 923.

much expanded and changed. Thus, like the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, the alphabetical Dioscorides exemplifies the expanding nature of medieval medical compendia. The treatise was so popular that it has been called "the most widely disseminated handbook of pharmacy of the whole later Middle Ages."³⁹

Although Dioscorides furnished most of the subject matter for medieval materia medica, the alphabetical form of organization seems to have originated with a comparatively unknown man, Pamphilus of Alexandria.⁴⁰ His herbal alphabet was the earliest known in Greek medical literature. It was the model for Galen's alphabetically arranged book of simples and, through him, for those of the West. Galen, in Book VI of his treatise, *Περὶ Κράσεως καὶ Δυνάμεως τῶν Ἀπλῶν Φαρμάκων*, criticized the inaccuracies and unscientific spirit of Pamphilus but asserted his intention of following his plan of alphabetical arrangement.⁴¹ From Book VI on, Galen's treatise consisted of (1) a three-book alphabetical compendium of simples, beginning with *abrotanum* and ending with *ocimoides*;⁴² (2) a book on stones and metallic substances (each in alphabetical order); and (3) two books of medical materials arranged in partially alphabetical order. This work drew its subject matter largely from Dioscorides and its alphabetical arrangement from Pamphilus. Apparently it was more prevalent in the West than was the alphabetical Dioscorides, at least during the early Middle Ages. It was translated into Latin along with the other Galenic works, probably during the late centuries of the Western empire. At

³⁹ Wellman, in Pauly-Wissowa, under "Dioskurides."

⁴⁰ See Meyer, *op. cit.*, II, 137 ff.; also K. Latte, "Glossographica," *Philologus*, LXXX (1925), 161.

⁴¹ See the Introduction to Book VI in C. Kuhn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia* (Leipzig, 1821-33), Vols. XI and XII.

⁴² *Ocimoides* appears last because Galen used the Greek alphabetical order. In Latin characters this would be as follows: *a, b, g, d, e, z, e* (eta), *th, i, k, l, m, n, x, o, p, r, s, t, u, ph, or f, ps, o* (omega).

the same time, or shortly thereafter, it was rearranged from the Greek to the Latin alphabetical order.⁴³

The earliest medieval manuscripts of the Galenic alphabet of simples indicate that many changes had taken place in the process of transition. Not only had the Greek alphabetical order given way (except in detailed points) to the Latin order but much additional material had been added. As a matter of fact, all medieval alphabets of simples were much interpolated with material from outside sources. Thus the name of Dioscorides, Galen, or Oribase in a title is no guaranty as to the origin of the subject matter.

There are three outstanding families of medieval alphabetical simples. All contain material coming essentially from Dioscorides but by way of Galen, whose name occasionally appears in the titles. One of these families is usually associated with the name of Oribase, another with Paternian, and the third with Platearius. The Oribase alphabet starts with *agnus*, ends with *yusquiamo* or *yssopus*, and usually bears the title *Apla Urivasii* (i.e., *simplicia Oribasii*). There are extant manuscripts from the fifth or sixth century on.⁴⁴ The Pater-

⁴³ As indicated in the preceding note, a literal translation from Greek to Latin leaves several points of alphabetical inconsistency; viz., the position of topics beginning with *g*, *z*, *th*, *x*, *ph*, or *f*, *ps*, and *o*. This accounts for many of the apparent blunders of scribes or compilers. E.g., the *Antidotarium Nicolai* lists *philanthropus* among the *F*'s; *Catharticum* (i.e., *Katharticum*), among the *K*'s; *hiera* (i.e., *yera*), among the *Y*'s. By the fifteenth century, in Saladin de Asculo, the *C* of *Catharticum* was changed to a *K*; the *Ph* of *philanthropus* to an *F*; and *hiera* was shifted to the *H*'s.

⁴⁴ Strangely enough the earliest known MS (BN 10233, fols. 18-53), a seventh-century(?) MS originally from Chartres, is entitled *Apla Galieni*; BN 9332, fols. 5-28 (an eighth-century MS, originally from Chartres) is entitled merely *Apla*. The other MSS bear the title *Apla Urivasii* or some variation thereof; viz., BN nouv. acq. 1619, fols. 14-39 (seventh-eighth century), and Sloane 670, fols. 19-34 (twelfth century). Copenhagen Gl Kg 1653, fols. 189-215 (eleventh century) has a *medicamentarum quod continet dicta Uribasii doctoris per alphabeto*, which begins with *acopum*, *acarius*, *acacia*, *aloes*. The Oribase alphabet in its complete form contains about 225 simples. It is Book II of the *Euporiston* and appears as Book II in most of the Latin MSS. Book III of the Latin version, which is a *Liber gradum* (Book II in the *Synopsis*), contains a brief alphabet (*acarius*, *acacia*, *aloes*, etc.) in the chapter (lvi?) *De electione medicamentorum*. See C. Daremberg and M. Busse-maker, *Œuvres d'Oribase* (Paris, 1851 ff.), Vol. VI, for the Latin text; H. Moerland, *Die Lateinischen Oribasius Übersetzungen* (Oslo, 1932), pp. 11 ff., for an excellent

nian alphabet appeared during the early medieval centuries under the title *Alphabetum Galieni ad Paternianum*. This list of some three hundred simples (*aer iustum* to *yhacatum*) was so closely associated with an introductory letter (*ad Paternianum*) which stressed the virtues (*dunamis*) of medicaments that it was sometimes referred to as a book of *dynamidia* (*liber de dynamidia*).⁴⁵ There are extant manuscripts of this "Paternian" alphabet from the eighth century on and from various regions.⁴⁶ Evidently it was very popular during the early Middle Ages, and it is thought to have contributed to the later books of simples, notably to that of Simon Januensis in the fourteenth century.

The third and apparently the most influential of the Galenic alphabets appeared early in the Middle Ages, the oldest extant manuscript coming from the ninth century.⁴⁷ Doubtless, like the other alphabetical books of simples, it had been in use from the fifth or sixth centuries, in which period there was much translation and compilation from Greek sources. Later it served as the core of Platearius' *Liber de simplicibus medicina*, which contained much additional material, includ-

analysis of the Latin version; L. MacKinney, *Early Medieval Medicine in France* (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 111 ff., 223, on the Oribase MSS from France, with a facsimile folio from the oldest known MS (BN 10233); and Rose, *op. cit.*, II, 114, for an explanation of the confusion of names in the titles of this work.

⁴⁵ See my "Dynamidia in Medieval Medical Literature," *Isis*, XXIV (1936), 400 ff.

⁴⁶ Vatican Pal. 187 (eighth century), St. Gall 762 (ninth century), Monte Cassino 97 (ninth century), Vienna 2425 (eleventh-century MS of Gariopotus with an *alphabetum*, from *amoniacum* to *yacinthus*), Rome Barberini 160 (tenth-eleventh century), and Chartres 62 (tenth-eleventh century). This alphabet was printed in the Juntine edition of Galen's work (Venice, 1609), among the *spuria Galeni*. In this edition it has a prefatory letter which explains, as follows, the author's purpose in using the alphabetical order: "Et nequis cum aut herbulam aut aliquam speciem, sive aromaticam sive metallicam requirit, diutius erraret, et totum volumen evolveret *ordine primarum literarum abcd* etc., agam omnia sinigmata nominare; quae in simplici tractantur, et in usum medicinae cadunt."

⁴⁷ St. Gall 762, pp. 138-87. The alphabet begins with *aloes* and ends with *zucarum*. It was published by V. Rose, *Theodori Prisciani Euporiston* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 401 ff. (*Liber de virtutibus pigmentorum vel herbarum aromaticorum*).

ing an introductory letter, the opening words of which gave it the title *Circa instans*.⁴⁸ This Platearian alphabet rendered the late medieval herbalists much the same practical service that the *Antidotarium Nicolai* did for the pharmacists. Its popularity is shown by the many extant manuscripts from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁹ It was also translated into French, English, and Hebrew.⁵⁰

Although the Platearian alphabet marks the greatest single event in the evolution of medieval dictionaries of

⁴⁸ There is an edition in the *Pratica Jo. Serapionis* (Venice, 1530) with the title *Liber de simplicibus medicina secundum Platearium dictus circa instans*. This version contains over 250 entries, from *aloes* to *zuchara* and *zeduar* (see preceding note). Later versions, notably the famous Breslau *Codex Salernitanus* of the thirteenth century, have almost twice as many. Thus rapidly (within one century) could a medieval handbook of simples expand.

⁴⁹ Dr. P. Pansier's list of Latin medical MSS of France (with the exception of those of the Bibliothèque nationale) illustrates the popularity of *Circa instans* in France (*Archiv f. G. der Medizin*, II [1908], 34-35). The following are indicative of the versions in circulation in England: CU Gonville and Gaius 379-599, CU Trinity College 912, and 919 (all three from the twelfth century). From the thirteenth century: CU Worcester College Q 52, Ashmole 1428, CU Peterhouse College 52 (thirteenth-fourteenth century), and Bodley Omn. An. LXXIV. From the fourteenth century: CU Trinity College 1398, II, BM Sloane 1612, 3483, 4897, 2268, and BM additional 29301, iv. From the fifteenth century: CU Trinity College 1422, and CU Jesus College, 43 (partly in English). In German, Swiss, and Italian libraries I have examined numerous examples; so many, in fact, that it is impossible to attempt their enumeration here.

⁵⁰ See P. Dorveaux, *Le Livre des simples médecines, traduction française du liber de simplicibus medicina dictus "Circa instans" de Platearius, tirée d'un manuscrit du XIII^e siècle (MS 3113 de la Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève de Paris)* (Paris, 1913), pp. x ff., for details concerning the French editions; notably the *Arbolayre ... extrait de plusieurs traitiers de médecine, comment d'Avicenne, de Rasis, de Constantin, de Ysaac et Plateaire ...* (Besançon, 1489), and the *Grant herbier en Francoys*. Dr. Pansier's list of medical MSS (*op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.), gives the MSS in French; to these might be added the following French MSS in English libraries: BM Sloane 3525 and 1977 from the thirteenth century; and Bodley 76 i from the fourteenth century. So far as MSS in English are concerned, the following list merely suggests the possibilities: From the fifteenth century: CU Trinity College 1422, BM Egerton 2433, Ashmole 1443, BM Sloane 706, Ashmole 1481, CU Jesus College 43, and CU Gonville and Gaius 609 ii. The Huntington Library (San Marino, California) has a number of English herbals; one of which (HM 58), so the curator informs me, is alphabetical. For Hebrew translations, see Sarton, *op. cit.*, II, Part I, 241. E. Rohde, *The Old English Herbals* (London, 1922), pp. 189 ff., contains a list of MSS, with several Platearian alphabets.

simples, there were noteworthy works of this kind in the later Middle Ages. Toward the end of the thirteenth century Arnold of Villanova compiled a *Tractatus de virtutibus herbarum* which contained several alphabetical treatises, among them one of herbs (*absintheum* to *usnea*), one of laxative simples (*aleopatica* to *zucaro*), and one of aromatics (*cinaman* to *zinabere*).⁵¹ About a century later, an Italian named Matthaeus Silvaticus compiled for King Robert of Sicily a formidable *Opus pandectarum*, containing lengthy descriptions with citations from Dioscorides, Galen, Pliny, Avicenna, and others. The alphabetization was carefully done, being carried to the third and fourth letter of each item.⁵² Late in the fourteenth century the French surgeon Guy de Chauliac, in the *Antidotarium*, which comprised Book VII of his *Chirurgia magna*, inserted a table of over two hundred and fifty simples, alphabetized to the fourth letter.⁵³

There are innumerable other examples of alphabetical simples from this period; their distribution by regions and languages indicates something of the prevalence and popularity of alphabetical handbooks of materia medica.⁵⁴ Only two

⁵¹ *Tractatus de virtutibus herbarum* (Venice, 1499). This work also has a *capitula herbarum secundum ordinem alphabeticum*.

⁵² *Opus pandectarum* . . . (Venice, 1507). Lists of synonyms are inserted in the text of this work, along with some detailed descriptive sections. All are in perfect alphabetical order. See Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, p. 592, for a detailed description.

⁵³ *Chirurgia magna* (Lyons, 1585).

⁵⁴ A few examples from the MS catalogues will suggest the richness of this field; CU St. Johns College 99 (thirteenth century, *absintheum* to *zinzania*), CU Trinity College 902 (thirteenth century, *aurea* to *zinziber*), Chartres 260 (fourteenth century), CU Peterhouse College 95 (fourteenth century, *anisuca* to *zirte*), and 182 (fourteenth century, *Liber graduum Helemesue absinthium* to *zizannia*); and 222 (thirteenth-fourteenth-century MS with three lists, viz., *aloeca* to *zimiza*, *agranerica* and *abrotanum*, etc., and *arma* to *zizannia*); also CU Jesus MS 43. From the fifteenth century came several alphabets in Irish; Trinity College, Dublin 1315, 1334, and 1343. Dublin Irish Academy 2306, and BM additional 15403. From the same century there are innumerable Latin-English alphabets; BM Sloane 1571, 404, 297, 706, 770, and 965; also Bodley MSS 463 and additional A 106; and CU Trinity College 905 and 759. An alphabet beginning with *agnus castus* is found in eleven fifteenth-century English MSS, viz., BM Arundel 272 (in two places), BM Royal 18 AVI, BM additional 4698, Ashmole 1432, BM Harley 3840 (in two places),

of these can be considered here. The thirteenth-century *Synonyma medicinae sive clavis sanitationis* of Simon Januensis, in spite of its misleading title, was an alphabetical handbook of simples, compiled from classical and Arabic sources with valuable additional facts from the author's own investigations.⁵⁵ More interesting, though less effectively compiled, was the alphabetical poem called variously *Flos Salernitana*, *Regimen Salernitanum*, and *Schola Salernitana*. One of the early versions (from the late thirteenth century) has but 362 lines, whereas the complete text has about 3,500 lines.⁵⁶ The poem contains two alphabetical sections, one concerning compounds (already discussed) and the other comprising a description of about ninety simples, beginning with *abrotanum* and ending with *zinziber*. Although this was a brief and popular treatise, its alphabetization was carried out to three letters. It illustrates two distinct trends in the late medieval books of simples—the tendency to combine in one treatise alphabets of both simples and compounds and the increasingly effective handling of the alphabetical order.

On the borderland of the alphabets of simples is a curious type of medical handbook called *antebalumina* or *quid pro*

BM Sloane 297, Bodley 463, Laud misc. 553, and CU Balliol 329. At Par in Cornwall, England Mrs. Dorothea Singer has a card catalogue of scientific treatises in English MSS which contains many additional items. Turning to the MS in Continental libraries, there is a bewildering array of alphabetical "simples." One of the most popular types was the *liber graduum*, in which there was a brief description of each item, first its qualities ("dry," "humid," etc.), then its uses. Most of these alphabets contained much the same array of simples, but there were variations in the order of items and many interpolations. These alphabets were variously attributed to Mesue, Galen, and Constantine of Monte Cassino. I cite only two of the most interesting of many examples; viz., Paris BN nouv. acq. 1095 (twelfth-thirteenth century), in which frequent references are made to Galen; and Venice St. Marks L VII xx (thirteenth century), a neatly written and neatly bound 17-folio codex, which appears to have been much used.

⁵⁵ There are numerous editions of this work (see Sarton, *op. cit.*, II, Part I, 1085). Its 6,500 entries were carefully alphabetized. See Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 590-91, for an excellent analysis of the sources and method of organization of this work.

⁵⁶ *Collectio Salernitana*, Vol. III, has the short version; Vol. V, the long one.

quo. As indicated by the title these were alphabetical lists of the substitutes for the various simples. Many of the manuscript versions bear the title *Antebalumina Galieni* and seem to have been interpolated copies of Galen's *περί ἀντεμβαλλομένων*.⁵⁷ Like the medical glossaries, the *antebalumina* consisted of brief entries, chiefly the names of herbs, preceded by the pronoun *pro* and followed by the name of the substitute; viz., *pro abrotano, origanum . . . pro zinziber, pyrethrum*. Although they were most popular during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, *Antebalumina* continued to be used in the late Middle Ages.⁵⁸

III. GLOSSARIES AND LEXICONS

Still another and (from our viewpoint) very important type of alphabetical compendium is the glossary, lexicon, or wordbook of foreign and technical terms. These appear under the titles *glossaria, hermeneumata, synonyma, vocabularia, index, expositio nominum*, etc., and are usually characterized by the *id est* formula; that is, each entry is followed by *id est* (or a variation thereof) and the explanatory material. Such works are clearly distinguishable from concordances and pharmaceutical handbooks in that their chief purpose was

⁵⁷ Printed editions are found in Kuhn's *Opera Galeni*, XIX, 721 ff.; in *Medicæ artis principes* (Frankfort, folio, n.d.), I, 695 ff. (*acanthu* to *zinziber*), and in the *Tractatus quid pro quo* (Venice, 1489), *aristologia* to *zinzibere*. The following MSS from the early Middle Ages suggest the variations in subject matter. From the ninth century: Monte Cassino 69 (*Antepollomina Galieni, aloen* to *zinziber*), and Bamberg L III 8 (fragmentary, *aspalto* to *bidellio*). From the tenth century: Paris BN 6882a (*Antebolumina Galieni, agantis* to *scamonia*), and Vatican Reg. 1260, fols. 174 ff. (*antebolumina Galieni, aganta* to *xilocasia*); fols. 178 ff. (*antebalumina Galieni, aromatico* to *silbidio upila*). From the eleventh century: Copenhagen Gl Kg 1653 and Vatican 4417, *anteballomena Galieni*. From the thirteenth century: Bodley Digby 69. Among the twenty or more MSS I have seen, not one bears the title *De succedaneis medicamentis* given in Kuhn's edition.

⁵⁸ There are many examples from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century MSS in all parts of Western Europe; noteworthy among them are those in French. As indicated by Sarton (*op. cit.*, II, Part I, 240) the *quid pro quo* often accompanied the *Antidotarium Nicolai*. Even more noticeable is the tendency toward groups of various alphabetical treatises such as *synonyma, antidotaria, vocabularia*, etc. MSS D I 11, D II 9, and D III 2 at Basle are excellent illustrations of this trend.

philological (i.e., the clarification of word meanings) and not the presentation of purely medical information. There were three general types which seem to mark three general stages of evolution of medical glossaries in the West. (1) During the early Middle Ages, when Greek words were contributing much to Western medical knowledge, the demand for Latin handbooks of Greek terms produced the *glossaria* and *hermeneumata*. (2) With the influx of Arabic medicine during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries came handbooks of Arabic, as well as Greek terms. The *synonyma*, or books of synonyms, which were typical of this period, though not restricted to Arabic, contain a high proportion of such words. (3) Toward the end of the Middle Ages the vernacular languages began to compete with Latin, and with them appeared the polylingual lexicons, which interpreted Latin, Arabic, and occasionally Greek terms in English, French, Italian, and German.

The earliest word books of Western medical literature were probably Greek-Latin *glossaria*. None of these is extant, but it is thought that as early as the fifth century there were alphabetical *glossaria* of the names of herbs and other simples. They may have been compiled from the works of Dioscorides, Galen, pseudo-Apuleius, etc., or they may have been excerpted from the general *glossaria*.⁵⁹ During the early Middle Ages such lists were used throughout the West,⁶⁰ even

⁵⁹ See Wellman, "Die Pflanzennamen des Dioskurides," *loc. cit.*, pp. 360 ff.; Goetz, *op. cit.*, I, 52-53; K. Latte, "Glossographica," *Philologus* (1925), LXXX, 161; and Howald-Sigerist, *Herbarius pseudo-Apulei*, in *Corpus medicorum Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1927), IV, xx ff.; for remarks on the relationship of these early *glossaria* to the alphabetical Dioscorides (see above, p. 253), and the *Herbarium Apulei*. Singer (*op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.) suggests that there were, in the East, as early as the third century, alphabetical lists of synonyms. For the medical material in the general *glossaria*, see J. Heiberg, *Glossae medicales* (Copenhagen, 1924).

⁶⁰ They appear under various names; e.g., *vocabula herbarum* (Monte Cassino, ninth century, MS 69), *vocabularium antiquum botanicum* (Wolfenbüttel, tenth century, MS 3612), *de herbis quibusdam ordine alphabeti* (BM Sloane, eleventh century, MS 475), and *de nominibus herbarum* (BM Harley, twelfth century, MS 5294).

in faraway England. Rev. Mr. Cockayne, in his work on *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*,⁶¹ has shown that early English compilers had at their disposal both medical and nonmedical *glossaria*, containing both Greek and Latin terms.

More prominent than *glossaria* in the early medical literature, were the *hermeneumata*, or "Interpretations" of the latinized Greek names of herbs.⁶² There are over fifteen extant examples of *hermeneumata* from the seventh to eleventh centuries, most of them bearing the explanatory subtitle *hermeneumata id est interpretatio pigmentorum vel herbarum a Greco in Latino translatum*.⁶³ Most of these are very full lists;

⁶¹ I, lxxxiv ff.

⁶² Certain of the *hermeneumata* contain considerable nonherbal material; names of diseases (e.g., *causon*, *elefantiasus*, *spasmus*, *apoplexia*, *emmoroidas*, *edropsicus*, *frenesis*, *gonoria*, etc.), and other medical generalities (e.g., *concordialis*, *clipsidero*, *infacium*, *antidotum*, etc.). These examples are from St. Gall 44 and 751 (ninth century), and Vatican Reg. 1260, fols. 165 ff., and 177 ff. (a tenth-century MS, published in Goetz, *op. cit.*, III, 549 ff.). It is interesting to note that the titles of these *hermeneumata* do not contain the reference to herbs that is in the titles of the other versions.

⁶³ The following MSS bear this title or some variation thereof. From the seventh-eighth century: Paris BN nouv. acq. 1619. From the ninth century: St. Gall 217, St. Gall 751, pp. 347 ff., St. Gall 459, p. 53, Monte Cassino 69, St. Gall 44, pp. 280-81, and 499, Bamberg L III 8, Paris BN 11218 and 11219, St. Gall 751, pp. 2-34 (*hermeneumata de rebus medicamentorum . . .*). From the tenth century: Paris BN 6882a, Vatican Reg. 1260, fols. 172 ff. and fols. 175 ff., Vatican Reg. 1260, fols. 165 ff. (*hermeneumata de decem speciebus medicamentorum . . .*), Vatican Reg. 1260, fols. 177 ff. (*hermeneumata*), and Brussels 1828-30 (*hermeneumata de decem speciebus medicamentorum*). From the tenth-eleventh century: Vatican 4417 (*nomina de Graeca in Latina*). From the eleventh century: Berne 337 (without title). According to Goetz (*op. cit.*, III, xxxiv), Paris BN supp. 212 and 1319 have fragments of ninth-century *hermeneumata*. Goetz (*ibid.*, I, 55) groups the *hermeneumata* published in Vol. III into three families: (1) Senensia FV8, Vatican Reg. 1260, fol. 172, and Paris BN 11218; (2) Vatican Reg. 1260, fol. 165, and Cassinensis 69; (3) Vatican Reg. 1260, fol. 175, Vatican 4417, and Berne 337. To these families I should add the following *hermeneumata* which I have examined in the original MSS and which Goetz does not mention: to family (1) belong Bamberg L III 8 and St. Gall 751, p. 347; to family (2), St. Gall 751, pp. 2-34; and St. Gall 44, pp. 280-81 and 324-29; to family (3) St. Gall 459, p. 53. Dr. Henry Sigerist informs me that Modena Arch. Capit. O. 1. II (eighth-ninth century) has a *hermeneumata* and that St. Gall 759 (ninth century) has what appears to be a *hermeneumata* (*catmia calcaumin corallo . . . zazura id est zaduas zarnabo*).

the longest (Vatican Reg. 1260, fol. 165) has over two thousand entries, while the shortest complete alphabet (Paris BN 11218) has about one hundred and fifty. The individual entries are brief—seldom over two words. Most of them merely give (1) the technical term (usually a latinized Greek word), (2) the symbol for *id est*, and (3) the Latin synonym.⁶⁴ The alphabetization, as in most early medieval handbooks, is only to one letter. *Hermeneumata*, at least under that name, seem to have passed out of medical literature after the eleventh century, their place being taken by *synonyma* and other such lexicons.⁶⁵

The *synonyma* were like the *hermeneumata* and early *glossaria*, in that they were merely lists of technical terms, followed by *id est* and the corresponding word in Latin or the vernacular.⁶⁶ They did, however, contain a larger proportion of nonherbals and of three- to four-line descriptions. The earliest *synonyma* bear such a close relationship to Arabic medical literature that they might be called glossaries of Arabic-Latin medical terms.⁶⁷ One of the most popular was the *Synonyma Rasis*, a list of the technical Arabic terms in Rasis' medical writings; it was compiled by a Salernitan Jew in the thirteenth century.⁶⁸ It was current during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in various versions. There were similar handbooks for the works of Avicenna, Messue,

⁶⁴ E.g., *aspaltu id est bitumen*. Very few have detailed explanations, and none of these runs to more than three half-lines.

⁶⁵ Goetz (*op. cit.*, I, 59) mentions these later word books as "recentiorum glossariorum . . . velut glossae Alphita, Sinonoma Bartholomei, corpora Simonis Januensis et Matthaei Silvatici."

⁶⁶ Take, e.g., the entry *acacia. i. sucus prunellarum immaturarum*, from the *Sinonoma Bartholomei*.

⁶⁷ An example of Arabic influence from the twelfth century is to be found in a set of four medical dictionaries, entitled *De nominibus herbarum et specierum et morborum et aliorum que autonomas ponuntur*. The first, a list of herbs, begins with *aristologia id est sarracenica pro rotunda*. See above, n. 8.

⁶⁸ Faradj ben Salem, after translating the *Continens* of Rasis, added to it a *tabula de nominibus arabicis*. This seems to have been the first *synonyma*.

Serapion, Haly, and other genuine or mythical Arabian medical authorities.⁶⁹ Paralleling and perhaps in imitation of the Arabic *synonyma* was a similar group derived from Western European treatises. In extant manuscripts there are to be found *synonyma* of Dioscorides, of Nicholaus, of Nicholaus Hispanus, of Simon of Genoa, of William Martel, of Stephen of Antioch, of Bartholomew (i.e., John Mirfield), and even a *Sinonime antique Plinii*. There are also *synonyma* of alchemy, of miscellaneous medical terms, of diseases, of simples, of compounded antidotes, and also a number of complicated *synonyma* tables.⁷⁰ In fact, during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, it seems to have been a pretty well established custom to append glossaries to all treatises that contained difficult technical terms. These glossaries appear under various titles (viz., *synonyma*, *nominana*, *vocabularia*, *glossaria*, *index*, etc.) and, as we have already seen, often under famous names.

Only a few of the most outstanding of the non-Arabic *synonyma* can be considered here. Among these were some which were so complete and comprehensive that they might be considered as medical dictionaries rather than as glossaries. Such was the *Synonyma medicinae sive clavis sanitationis* of Simon Januensis, already mentioned. This was based on the *Synonyma Stephani* of Stephen of Antioch, a twelfth-century Salernitan living in the East. The latter

⁶⁹ The printed editions of the works of Rasis, Avicenna, and Serapion contain but a small part of the *synonyma* that are to be found in the MSS. At present, after having seen a good many of the MSS in France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, I feel certain that there were separate *synonyma* for the various treatises of each of these writers.

⁷⁰ The subject of *synonyma* is so involved that it is impossible here to cite anything more than the most important of the printed materials. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, p. 582 ff., and J. Mowat, in *Anecdota Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1887), Vol. I, Parts I and II, have presented valuable information on certain phases, but so far as I know there is no comprehensive study of the subject in print. After completing my survey of the MS sources, I intend to publish a brief study of Western *synonyma*. In almost every Continental collection of MSS that I have examined I have found numbers of *synonyma*, many of them unmentioned in the catalogues.

work was a trilingual glossary of technical terms in the treatises of Dioscorides, arranged alphabetically with parallel columns for the Greek (in Latin characters), Arabic, and Latin terms.⁷¹ One of the most popular of such handbooks was the *Synonyma alphita*, so called from the item which originally headed the alphabetical list.⁷² Another was the *Sinonoma Bartholomei* by John Mirfield, monk of St. Bartholomew's in London. The *Alphita* seems to have drawn heavily on Simon Januensis and Matthaeus Silvaticus.⁷³

The *synonyma* of the late Middle Ages, including those already mentioned, showed several important trends. Like other late medieval compendia, they were well organized, often being alphabetized to the second and third letter of each item. In subject matter, also, they tended to become more comprehensive. By reason of the interpolation of new material, they became broader in scope, and many of them took on more and more of the character of general medical dictionaries. Most noticeable of all was the trend toward the vernacular languages; the earlier Latin-Greek and Latin-Arabic glossaries were supplemented by lexicons of technical medical terms in French, English, German, Italian, and even in Irish.⁷⁴

In conclusion, it may be said that medieval compilers

⁷¹ One MS (Paris BN 6914) is bilingual—Arabic and Latin.

⁷² Published in the *Collectio Salernitana*, III, 270 ff. This version begins with *aaron, abrotanum . . . alphita* and ends with *zucorum vel zucora*. The edition by Mowat in *Anecdota Oxoniensis*, Vol. I, Part II, begins with *absinthium . . . abrotanum . . . acacia*, and ends with *zinziber . . . zucara*.

⁷³ The edition by Mowat (*Sinonoma Bartholomei*, in *Anecdota Oxoniensis*, Vol. I, Part I) begins with *aaron . . . adomen . . . abrotanum . . . absinthium* and ends with *zinziber . . . zucoria . . . zodarium*. There are about 750 items.

⁷⁴ A perusal of the catalogues of MSS of the various European libraries gives ample evidence of the prevalence of polylingual handbooks. In most cases, however, the catalogues merely scratch the surface. There are innumerable MSS that are uncatalogued (e.g., in the Ambrosian library at Milan). Furthermore, in the catalogued MSS one constantly finds medical *synonyma* that escaped the eye of the cataloguers. In a recent survey of French, Italian, Swiss, and German MSS I have been particularly impressed with the number of Latin-German *synonyma*.

manifested conflicting tendencies; very few were medically minded; their chief interest was lexicographical. There were many epitomizers who merely condensed Greek-Roman works into usable but barren and often inaccurate handbooks.⁷⁵ On the other hand, there were compilers who, while arranging classical learning into handier form, also revised it and added new information. There were also the lexicographers whose only purpose was to clarify the meanings of foreign or technical terms. Last, and perhaps least in evidence, was the work of the true medical scientist, searching for new knowledge. During the early Middle Ages, the chief activity was the translating and revising of classical works. Popular opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, immediately after the period of barbarian invasions the body of medical information began to expand. In this respect the early Middle Ages cannot accurately be characterized as a period of stagnation. To be sure, it was the epitomizers and lexicographers who held the center of the stage. But *glossaries*, *hermeneumata*, *vocabularia*, and other such lexicons, many of them containing thousands of entries, testify to the zeal of the medical wordmongers. They can be praised for their practical service in making existing knowledge more usable quite as justly as they can be criticized for their failure to make definite contributions to the progress of medical science.

From the eleventh century on, medical compendia showed a decided improvement. So far as subject matter is concerned, the classical corpus was revised and increased by the addition of new material (1) from revived classical works, (2)

⁷⁵ At the worst, their efforts might be described in words such as Professor C. H. Haskins (*The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* [Cambridge, 1928], p. 279) used of Isidore and Bede: "Their science, thin and barren, and often fantastic, carried on a bare modicum of ancient learning to the medieval world. Based upon the briefer manuals of the later Empire, this knowledge was by them further condensed into small packages as a viaticum for the long journey through the Dark Ages, and it was desiccated and often predigested in the process" (the italics are mine).

from the Arabs, and (3) from native Western sources. In arrangement, also, much progress was made. Alphabetizing was often carried out to the second and third letters.⁷⁶ Many of the later treatises demonstrate real organizing ability and a high appreciation of the value of citations and detailed references. Precision of organization seems to have become common in almost every class of medical literature—not only in the herbals and books of simples but also in glossaries, concordances, dictionaries, and indexes. Certainly the compilations of the last five centuries of the Middle Ages were something more than mere epitomes of earlier works. And finally, even in the “dark ages” (500–1000) there are scattered evidences which suggest that medical literature, like certain other phases of intellectual life, may be dark partially by reason of the insufficiency of our knowledge of their attainments.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Professor Haskins (*op. cit.*, p. 78) has an interesting comment on this point to the effect that “the Middle Ages did not care much for alphabetical order, at least beyond the initial letter, and they would have faced a telephone directory with the consternation of an American office boy.” This vivid characterization is perhaps true of the earlier centuries, but medical compilers of the later Middle Ages seem to have been quite fond of the alphabetical order, and on a large scale, at that. Don-
dus’ stout volumes of indexes are as thick as a metropolitan telephone directory, and they contain not one but a series of indexes. The same is true of many nonmedical compendia; e.g., Vincent of Beauvais and Bartholomeus Anglicus (see above, n. 6). Even some of the early *glossaria* (e.g., the *Liber glossarum* and the *Glossarium Sal-
monis*) were as large as a Webster’s unabridged dictionary. And, as to complexity, it is well to remember the cross-referenced sets of indexes of Macer Floridus, and the alphabets within alphabets of the *Holme de simplicibus medicinis*.

⁷⁷ Interestingly enough, this opinion has been expressed in the most up to date of twentieth-century compendia, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.), VII, 60.

THE EMERGENCE OF CONCILIARISM

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JOHN T. MCNEILL

I

THE contemporary crisis in the history of representative institutions naturally points attention to the earlier stages of their modern development. The conciliar movement constitutes an early assertion of the representative principle on a vast scale. Conciliarism may be described as the advocacy and practice of representative assemblies for government in the Western church.

The movement owed its inception to a number of causes. Some of these are vague and imponderable, others concrete. To the former class of causes belong the example of local democracies; the experience of monastic and mendicant polities; the representative element in national constitutions, as in England and Switzerland; and the fresh study of Aristotle's *Politics*. These elements should not be undervalued because difficult to appraise. Together they may have produced a widespread psychological predisposition to apply the representative principle to the difficult problems of ecclesiastical government. Some influence, too, must be assigned to the church's memory of the councils of the ecumenical period; though it is possible that the appeal of conciliarists to the early councils should in most instances be regarded rather as debating strategy than as evidence of an original impulse from that source. Fundamentally, however, conciliarism arose as an offset to high papal claims which were inimical alike to the ambitious programs of secular rulers and to provincial and local ecclesiastical interests. Conciliar theory was

essentially formulated by Marsilius and Ockham more than a generation before the beginning of the schism, and the conciliarists of the schism era merely refined upon the arguments of their predecessors. It has been suggested that conciliarism was a product, or a necessary concomitant, of the nominalist philosophy.¹ This article is mainly concerned with the manifestations of incipient conciliarism before the date of Ockham's revival of nominalism, and on the part of persons who were never connected with the nominalist school.

The later conciliarists generally professed to obtain aid and comfort from the canon law, though they found it necessary for their argument to reinterpret the canons under the liberal principle of *epieikeia*. It was admitted by the citizens of Liège in their withdrawal of allegiance from the pope in 1400 that, "according to the letter (*verba*) of the canon law, or rather of its husk (*corticem*), in the usual course of law, a pope cannot be deposed except for the offense of heresy."² The principle of *epieikeia*, or equity, enabled the conciliarist interpreters to go beyond the "husk" and liberalize the canons. By its means they interpreted positive laws in the light of necessity or utility. The necessity of unity and peace, in their minds, overcame the literal requirements of the canons—the original intention of whose authors would, they argued, be defeated by insistence upon a literal fulfilment. At the earlier period with which our present study has to do, enemies of the pope who wished to bring him to judgment before a council, lacking this useful instrument of argumentation, sometimes rather unconvincingly resorted to charges of

¹ E. Emerton, *The Beginnings of Modern Europe* (New York, 1917), pp. 165 ff.

² G. J. Jordan, *The Inner History of the Great Schism of the West* (London, 1930), p. 49, quoting Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, II, 1255. For the employment of the principle of *epieikeia* by Henry of Langenstein and Conrad of Gelnhausen see Jordan, pp. 45 ff. It should be noted that Marsiglio of Padua before them had adopted and explained the term, closely following Aristotle, in the political section of the *Defensor pacis* i. xiv. 7 (C. W. Previté-Orton's edition, p. 64; R. Scholz's edition, pp. 81 f.).

heresy. It had been generally admitted that a heretical pope could and should be deposed by a council, which should in the crisis assume extraordinary powers and act on behalf of the whole church. Only in a few bold minds did the thought emerge that a council was normally superior to a pope.

Councils had, indeed, in certain instances judged the conduct and belief of popes and determined papal elections. The Council of Chalcedon (451), in substantially adopting the *Tome* of Leo I, thereby assumed the council's final authority rather than that of the pope. Pope Damasus was tried for and acquitted of adultery by a Roman synod in 378. A council in Rome in 501 adjudged Pope Symmachus innocent of charges laid against him. The council had been called by agreement of Symmachus and King Theodoric, though the pope's enemies prevented him from attending it.³ A council of Constantinople on March 28, 681, anathematized the long-deceased Pope Honorius I (625-38) for heresy.⁴ Leo III, attacked by his predecessor's nephews and charged with manifold misdeeds, was vindicated in an assembly of clergy called by Charlemagne at Rome, December 23, 800. In this instance, however, the bishops disclaimed the right to act as the pope's judges. No question of heresy was involved.

In evidence of the recognition by the most eminent popes of the principle that heresy is a sufficient reason for the deposition of the pope, Arquillière points to certain passages in the *Consecration Sermons* of Innocent III. His *Sermo II* in

³ For a summary of the circumstances see L. R. Loomis, *The Book of the Popes* (New York, 1916), p. 118.

⁴ H. X. Arquillière, "L'Origine des théories conciliaires," *Séances et travaux de l'académie des sciences morales et politiques*, CLXXV (1911), 581 ff., citing the above instances, remarks: "These practices help us to understand the letter which Columban, Abbot of Luxeuil, addresses to Pope Boniface IV, at the opening of the seventh century. He conjures him to scatter the suspicions which are current on his orthodoxy, and to excommunicate his detractors. However, if he is really a heretic, he does not hide the fact that he becomes judicable by his subordinates." Columban; indeed, calls upon the pope to assemble a *conventus* that will clear or condemn him (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXX, 278 ff.).

consecratione Pontificis Maximi contains the following statement:

For faith [Innocent means orthodox belief] is so necessary to me that while for other sins I have God only as my judge, for that sin alone that is committed in respect to faith, I can be judged by the church. For "he that believeth not hath been judged already."⁵

Again in *Sermo III*, an allegorical essay on marriage, Innocent declares that the Roman church may put away the Roman pontiff for the cause of fornication, that is, *infidelitatis errorem*—the error of a lapse from the faith—since "he that believeth not hath been judged already."⁶ In *Sermo IV*, on the salt that loses its saltiness, he asks: Who can cast out and tread underfoot the pope who has lost his savor, since he has no lord but God himself? Does the pontiff vainly flatter himself and rashly glory in his lofty station, since the less he is judged by men, the more is he judged by God? "I say no: for he can be judged by men, or rather be shown to have been judged (*vel potius judicatus ostendi*) if he lapses into heresy, since 'he that believeth not is judged already.'"⁷ The repetition of this phrase from John 3:18 at the close of these passages perhaps indicates something of reservation; yet he seems to contemplate an act of judgment, or of the declaration of divine judgment, by those who should represent the church.

II

Frederick Barbarossa employed the device of a general council in his effort to depose Alexander III. His policy in this conflict has some points of comparison with that of Philip the Fair against Boniface VIII, but Frederick was relatively weak on theoretic grounds. He could merely, referring to Constantine and other Christian Roman emperors, justify the assembling of a council by the emperor in time of alleged

⁵ Arquillière, *op. cit.*, p. 582; Migne, *op. cit.*, CCXVII, 656.

⁶ Migne, *op. cit.*, CCXVII, 665.

⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 670.

crisis. He may not have been aware of the importance of the charge of heresy in the canonical view of the council. At any rate he justified it rather on the ground of a disputed papal election. The facts can be examined in Mansi,⁸ in Hefele-Leclercq,⁹ and in Ragewin's *Gesta Frederici*.¹⁰ G. B. Testa has indicated the relation of Frederick's controversy with Alexander to the bitter struggle of the emperor with the Lombard communes,¹¹ and H. K. Mann has painstakingly narrated the story of the struggle from the papal point of view.¹²

Adrian IV had died in enmity with Frederick, September 1, 1159, while the emperor was occupied at the siege of Crema. The small imperialist group among the cardinals determined to obtain the accession of a favorable pontiff. Nevertheless, the uncompromising Roland was chosen by the majority. But Octavian, the candidate of the imperialists, angrily snatched the papal mantle from the shoulders of the pope-elect and had himself proclaimed by the minority. They were both duly consecrated, as Alexander III and Victor IV, respectively. The suddenness of Adrian's death and the fact that the emperor was more than three hundred miles from Rome at the time, may well cast doubt upon the common view that Frederick personally prompted the election of the antipope;¹³ but at least he was alert to make use of the schism in his own interests. He had already in a dispute with Adrian likened himself to Constantine and rebuked the pope as a monster of pride.¹⁴ He now represented himself as the peace-

⁸ *Concilia*, XXI, 1111 ff.

⁹ *Histoire des conciles*, V, ii, 927 ff.

¹⁰ *M.G.H., Scriptores*, XX, 476 ff.

¹¹ *History of the War of Frederick I against the Communes of Lombardy* (London, 1877), pp. 236 ff., 244 ff., 271, 296 f., 308.

¹² *Lives of the Popes* (London, 1906 ff.), X, 24 ff. See also the translated documents on the election of 1159 in Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book for Medieval History* (New York, 1905), pp. 192 ff.

¹³ As John of Salisbury suggests, *Epistolae* 59; Migne, *op. cit.*, CXCIX, 38 f.

¹⁴ Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 909.

maker between factions. About the end of October he sent out letters to convene a general council for the purpose of deciding the rival claims of Alexander and Victor and summoned both to present themselves before it. Alexander proudly declined the council's jurisdiction, refused to attend, and charged the emperor with "exceeding the bounds of his power" in calling a council without the papal consent. Victor, as a dutiful imperialist, prepared to present himself, assured that his claim would be sustained. The prelates of England, France, Hungary, Denmark, and Spain disappointed the emperor by the apathy or hostility with which they received his summons.

The assembly was to meet at Pavia, January 13, 1160. At that date Frederick was still engaged with the siege of Crema; it fell on the twenty-seventh. The council assembled only on the fifth of February, and sat until the eleventh. Only about fifty bishops and archbishops were actually present; a few others sent deputies, and there were representatives of the kings of England and France. The emperor, playing Constantine, opened the proceedings of the disappointingly small synod with a formal and graceful speech:

Although we are aware that the power of convoking councils lies with us, especially amid such perils to the church, by virtue of the office and dignity of the Empire—for it is recorded that Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian did this, and in more recent history the Emperors Charles the Great and Otto—yet we commit the authority to decide this highly important business to your prudence and power. For God made you priests and gave you power to judge us also. And since in the things of God it is not ours to judge you, we exhort you so to conduct yourselves in this case as if we were looking to you for the judgment of God alone.¹⁵

He then withdrew, leaving the council to act with the appearance of independence. After a week's discussion it gave sentence in favor of Victor and condemned Roland. The *Acta* of the council contain a partisan history of the case.¹⁶

¹⁵ Mansi, *op. cit.*, XXI, 1111; C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums* (4th ed.; Tübingen, 1925), p. 169.

¹⁶ Mansi, *op. cit.*, XXI, 1112 ff.

Meanwhile Henry II of England had been induced by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, to authorize a meeting of convocation in order to determine which pope should be acknowledged in England. Theobald was a supporter of Alexander, and the assembly sent to Henry a report cautiously favorable to this pope, though deferring to the king's decision. The king was in Normandy; he assembled the Norman clergy at Neuf-Marché, and this synod also declared for Alexander. At the same time the clergy of France met at the call of Louis VII at Beauvais and took the same action. Yet, when Norman prelates ventured to proclaim Alexander, Henry was offended, fearing complications with the emperor; and Louis also withheld pronouncement for some time. Frederick was still seeking to induce the kings to accept the decision of Pavia.¹⁷ But in this he was to be disappointed. There is much uncertainty about the date of the Council of Toulouse, and even the place of this notable assembly has been held in doubt;¹⁸ but apparently it was before November, 1160, when Henry returned to England for a period.¹⁹ Representatives of the two popes here debated before the two kings and an imposing body of prelates from both kingdoms. Alexander's representatives proved able and convincing. A move to postpone decision was finally checked, and Henry took courage to declare for Alexander. Louis and the pliant clergy followed suit, and the cause of the emperor received a serious repulse. In May, 1161, an imperialist conciliabulum met at Cremona: interrupted by war, it resumed at Lodi, June 19-22. Its acts are obscure, and it proved insignificant.²⁰

¹⁷ Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, V, ii, 945 ff.

¹⁸ The editor of William of Newburgh's *Chronicle*, R. Howlett, thinks it should be called the "Second Council of Beauvais" and that it was held "in the same year and month as the separate councils," viz., July, 1160 (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* ["Rolls Series"], II, li ff. The text referred to by Howlett is in I, 119-20).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. lii; Hefele-Leclercq place it in October (*op. cit.*, p. 947).

²⁰ Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 950; Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

Nevertheless, when two years later the emperor proposed a council at Avignon to reopen and finally decide the question, Louis gave encouragement to the proposal. Alexander had but a cool reception from Louis when, driven from Rome, he came for safety and help to France (April, 1162). Despite the pope's protestations, and without consulting the English king, Louis at length agreed with Frederick to hold on August 29, 1162, a joint assembly of princes, nobles, and ecclesiastics of France and the empire. Not Avignon, but a bridge across the Saône at St. Jean de Losne was the place designated. The rival popes were summoned to attend. Alexander stoutly declined; he agreed only to send envoys who would declare his position. Louis now hesitated. Henry, learning of the plan, expressed his indignation. In the end the French king failed to keep his agreement with the emperor. Only a threatening famine, and Henry's army, saved Louis from the vengeance of Barbarossa.²¹ The Council of Tours, May, 1163, mainly of English and French membership, pronounced strongly for Alexander.²²

These events mark the abortive attempt of Barbarossa to check and control the papacy by the method of a council. It was inevitable that he should conceive of the council as closely linked with the imperium. This aspect is clear from first to last through the struggle. The Council of Pavia and the prelates of the empire had for him an authority superior to that of a French council or of French and English prelates, just as, in his mind, the empire by divine right held a universal temporal authority. In this connection we may here refer to his final word to the French king, announced through the imperial chancellor, Rainald of Dassel. In an interview held on September 22, 1162, on the bridge where Louis had failed

²¹ Lord George Lyttleton, *History of Henry II* (London, 1769), II, 2 ff.; Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 960.

²² Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 971 ff.; Mansi, *op. cit.*, XXI, 1167 ff.; Mann, *op. cit.*, X, 64 f.

to honor his previous appointment, Rainald told the king that only the prelates of the empire had the right to determine the question of the papal election. At this frank declaration Louis, ending a series of discreditable shifts with an irrevocable act, without ceremony put spurs to his horse and galloped away.²³

III

It will be recalled that in France, throughout the Capetian period, the king frequently convoked the ecclesiastical assemblies and that ecclesiastical questions were determined in assemblies of mixed lay and clerical membership. The summons to attend such assemblies was frequently sent by the king to the metropolitans, who in turn passed it on to their suffragans and to the great landed barons of their provinces.²⁴

In this general situation special crises sometimes called forth some elements of a theory of conciliar power. During the pontificate of John XV, in June, 991, in a council held at St. Basil's, Verzy, near Reims, Arnulf, bishop of Orleans, argued for the authority of councils. He was "hampered by the False Decretals" but persuaded all hearers of the validity of provincial councils and of those interprovincial councils which in France were called "universal," even though held without the pope's summons or consent.²⁵ The situation was, of course, deeply affected by the then low state of the papacy, which he described as "occupied by monsters of licentiousness, cruelty, and impiety."

No such bold attempt as that of Frederick I to master the

²³ Leclercq's note, *op. cit.*, pp. 960 ff. On Barbarossa's conception of the empire cf. J. W. Thompson, *The Middle Ages, 300-1500* (New York, 1931), I, 479 ff.

²⁴ A. Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens, 987-1180* (Paris, 1891), I, 261, 265.

²⁵ Arnulf's utterances in this assembly were collected "as one continuous speech" by Gerbert. In this form the eloquent oration occupies six pages of the *Monumenta* (ed. G. H. Pertz, *M.G.H., Scriptores*, III, 671-76). Cf. W. H. Jervis, *The Gallican Church* (London, 1872), I, 24 ff.; D. W. Lewis, *The History of the Church in France, A.D. 950-1000* (London, 1926), pp. 96-100.

papacy by means of a council appears in French history before the days of Philip the Fair. But the French and English kings continued to summon assemblies of clergy and laity, and in some instances these took action unfavorable to papal policies. The pontificate of Innocent IV was marked by a series of crises over papal exactions, particularly in France. Louis IX was too loyal to the papacy to take an irreconcilable attitude; but, in the interests of the monarchy, he encouraged the hostility of the French nobility and clergy to the pope's arbitrary and excessive taxation. When in 1243 Innocent demanded one-third of all church incomes for three years, it was impossible to collect the tax, and, even when the demand was modified (1246) to one-tenth, resistance was vocal and organized.

In March, 1247, a meeting, summoned by the king, of the nobles at Pontoise drew up a spirited memorandum against the pope's assumption of the right to tax the property of the French church. At the same time, both England and Germany were intractable toward the papacy. The well-attended council at Lyons, June-July, 1245, though convoked by Innocent, saw the pope embarrassed by the vigorous protest of William Powick and other representatives of the English church. Again in 1247, a parliament called by Henry III, having heard the complaints of the lower clergy, protested the papal exactions. The Emperor Frederick II through his emissary at the Council of Lyons proposed to appeal to a future "more Christian" pope, and to a general synod, and to the German and other princes of Europe.²⁶

It was natural that rulers who found it advantageous or necessary to resist popes usually sought and found support in assemblies of their clergy and nobility. Resort to such assem-

²⁶ Mansi, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 633 ff.; G. H. Pertz, *M.G.H., Leges*, II, 354; Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum* ("Rolls Series"), II, 502 ff., 506; III, 16, 293; W. Meyer, *Ludwig IX von Frankreich und Innozenz III in den Jahren 1244-1247* (Marburg, 1915), esp. chap. v; W. F. Knox, *The Court of a Saint* (London, 1909), pp. 135 ff., 312 ff.; F. A. Gasquet, *Henry III and the Church* (London, 1909), pp. 228 ff., 268 ff.

blies did not, however, necessarily involve the affirmation of a doctrine of the superiority of councils over popes. In this period no fresh attempt was made to depose and replace a pontiff by the instrument of a council, and no prolonged struggle led to the formulation of a substantial theory of conciliar power. The greater councils of the thirteenth century were, instead, the instruments of the popes, who generally convoked, presided over, and controlled them.

IV

It was in the pontificate of Boniface VIII that the demand for a council was repeatedly and continuously voiced by the pope's opponents. The moral force of the opposition to Boniface came largely from the Spiritual Franciscans, especially that circle of the Spirituals who had recently been organized as the Celestine Hermits. With the sympathy of many among the moderate Franciscans, and outside that order, this coterie, devout to the point of fanaticism, wielded considerable public influence. Their lofty hopes of a spiritual reformation under Celestine V were, of course, doomed from the first by that aged pontiff's incapacity; but they charged the disappointing results against Boniface, who, they believed, had induced Celestine to abdicate. Abdication of the pontificate was a new thing in papal history. Veneration for Celestine strengthened in the minds of his partisans the suggestion that no such abdication could be valid; and they passionately adhered to this view, by which the election of Boniface was null and void. Their grievance against Boniface was doubled by the fact that he removed the privileges granted to their order by Celestine. The effect of the controversy in Franciscan circles is well illustrated by the attitude of Peter Olivi.²⁷

²⁷ F. Ehrle, "Petrus Johannis Olivi, sein Leben und seine Schriften," *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, III (1887), 509-52; D. L. Louie, *The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester, 1932), pp. 81-119;

Peter Olivi (1248-98), a French pupil of the English Franciscan teachers William de la Mare and John Peckham, deeply imbued with the apocalyptic mysticism of Joachim of Fiore, in writings of the early years of Boniface looked for a renovation of the church in which a democratic principle would come to realization. This was thought of in part as the outworking of the "church within the church," a holy inner fellowship which he regarded as having persisted from the apostles through the ascetic orders and been revived by St. Francis, the messiah of a new age.²⁸

Olivi, however, resisted the movement among the extreme Spirituals against the validity of Boniface VIII's election and confuted their argument that Celestine had no authority to resign the papacy. In a tract on the subject he presents, in order to refute, twelve positions taken by the assailants of the election. The tenth of these is their argument that a general council should have been held in the crisis of Celestine's determination to abdicate. In his reply, Olivi admits the principle of a council to solve a grave crisis involving general danger of schism and error, and especially a profound and perplexing question which calls for formal discussion; but he denies that such elements were present in the affair of Celestine. In defense of the abdication he discerns at numerous points in history the principle of the handing-on of papal power to a successor. He employs a capitulum of John VIII which states that Peter "handed on (*tradidit*) his papal power to his successor Clement." Discussing various possible views of the succession of Clement, he argues from the language of John VIII that the pope has full power to determine the form of his successor's election. Yet he contemplates the removal of a pope who falls into heresy and distinguishes between his sacramental "order," which is irremovable, and his "juris-

E. Benz, *Ecclesia Spiritualis: Kirchenidee und Geschichtstheologie der Franziskanischen Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1934), pp. 256-332, 404 ff.

²⁸ Benz, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 310 ff.

diction," which can be removed or laid aside. Olivi reasserts the commonplace that "all ecclesiastical jurisdiction is removed by manifest heresy."²⁹ These principles, while offering no support to the annulment of Boniface's election, were not unfavorable to the second of the arguments of the opposition, the allegation of heresy. The council, too, is given a significant place in Olivi's thought, though in this respect he shows little if any advance upon the recognized canonical position. The council is a deciding body in time of grave crisis and perplexity—a last resort rather than a normal authority.

V

On the tenth of May, 1297, the Colonna faction, hostile to Boniface VIII, held an assembly at Longhezza on the Anio and published a manifesto demanding a council of the church. It was not the first time that members of this restless clan had offered resistance to the papacy. Cardinal John Colonna, and his brother Otto, had, not without honorable excuse, deserted Gregory IX for Frederick II (1239). The eldest representative of the family was now the son of Otto, James Colonna (d. 1318), whom Nicholas III had made a cardinal in 1278. About 1280 he had received the dedication of a work of Alexander of Roes, a canon of Cologne, which was an enlargement of Jordan of Osnabruck's *De praerogativa Romani Imperii*, written perhaps a decade earlier.³⁰ The treatise was a moderate assertion, on the basis of an artificial interpretation of history, of the divine-right authority of the German

²⁹ *Ibid.*; P. L. Oliger, "Petri Johannis Olivi: De renunciatione Papae Coelestini V, quaestio et epistola," *Archivum Franciscanum*, XI (1918), 309-73; H. Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII* (Münster, 1902), pp. 66 f.

³⁰ The work is edited by G. Waitz, *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Hist.-Phil. Kl., Vol. XIV [1869]), pp. 1-92. For a study of Alexander von Roes as a representative of the German self-consciousness of his age see H. Heimpel, "Alexander von Roes und das deutsche Selbstbewusstsein," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXVI (1935), 19-60. C. N. S. Woolf has analyzed the treatise in *Bartolus of Sassoferrato* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 227 ff. Cf. A. Dempf, *Sacrum imperium* (Munich, 1934), pp. 494 and 498.

Empire, as independent of, but co-operating with, the papacy.³¹ Whether such literature helped to liberalize the cardinal's conception of papal power is not certainly known. He had been on friendly terms with the best of the numerous popes of his time, Nicholas IV. His brother, the Senator John Colonna, died in 1292, leaving six ambitious and unscrupulous sons: Peter (d. 1336), whom Nicholas IV made a cardinal in 1288; Stephen, count of Romagna; James ("Sciarra"), also a layman; Otto and John, both clerics; and Agapitus, a layman. Peter was rich in lands and ecclesiastical properties and possessed of a proud, bold, and active spirit.³²

The origins of the hostility of the Colonna to Benedetto Gaetani, Boniface VIII, are clouded in obscurity. It seems probable, however, that while assenting to his election they had never been in reality friendly to him. There is evidence that for two years before their manifesto they were engaged in secret transactions with the pope's enemies. The statement of Peter Peredo, abbot of St. Medard, Soissons, sheds light on this point. Peredo was a trusted agent of Philip the Fair. He says that the cardinal-bishop of Palestrina, Simon Beaulieu, first voiced in France, when on a papal mission to settle the quarrel between France and England, the charge that Boniface was not true pope. He had informed the king that Boniface had been a heretic before he was a cardinal

³¹ The curious argument may be indicated by the following quotation: "Et est nota dignum, quod debitus et necessarius ordo requirebat, ut, sicut Romani tamquam seniores sacerdotio, sic Germani vel Franci tamquam juniores imperio, et ita Francigene vel Gallici tamquam perspicaciores scientiarum studio dotarentur, et ut fidem catholicam quam Romanorum constantia firmiter tenet illam Germanorum magnanimitas imperialiter teneri precipiat, et eandem Gallicorum argutia et facundia, ab omnibus esse tenendam firmissimis nationibus approbet et demonstret" (Waitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.).

³² R. Neumann, *Die Colonna und ihre Politik, 1288-1328* (Langensalze, 1914), pp. 8 ff.; L. Mohler, "Die Cardinale Jakob und Peter Colonna: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Bonifaz VIII," *Quellen und Forschungen aus den Gebiete der Geschichte* (Görres-Gesellschaft), XVII (Paderborn, 1914), 5. Peter had married but sent his wife to a nunnery when appointed cardinal (Mohler, *op. cit.*, p. 15). He is called in a contemporary document *caput superbiae* (Mann, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 213).

and that he had obtained the papacy by violence and cunning. Soon thereafter, Peredo was sent (December, 1295) by Philip to the Curia, where he secretly conferred with the cardinals Colonna and with three other cardinals hostile to Boniface, who, reciting the same charges, urged him to induce King Philip to intervene against the pope.³³

Boniface, suspecting the Colonna of a variety of conspiracies, demanded the admission of papal garrisons to their powerful castles. This was refused, and the battle was opened. On May 3, Stephen Colonna robbed the carriers of the pope's private treasure which was being taken to Rome. On May 4 Peter Colonna was required by a papal official to say whether he believed Boniface to be pope. The manifesto of May 10 was the faction's answer. It was dated "before sunrise" (*in aurora ante solis ortum*). On the same day Boniface held a consistory in which the cardinals James and Peter were perpetually deprived of their offices and honors.

The text of the Colonna libel against Boniface is given in part by Tosti and in its entirety with the two later protests, of May 16 and June 15, respectively, by Denifle. It has been analyzed by Mohler, by Hefele, and by Curley.³⁴ Gregorovius, following Tosti, supposed that the document was drawn up by the skilled hand of Jacopone da Todi, who, with at least two other friars, was present at the Longhezza conference.³⁵ Four cardinals are known to have been present, of whom Simon Beaulieu, recently returned from France, was

³³ Mohler, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 f.; Finke, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 f. Mann cites other evidence of the "systematic opposition" of the Colonna to Boniface from 1295 (*op. cit.*, XVIII, 208). See also T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933), chap. vi.

³⁴ L. Tosti, *History of Pope Boniface VIII*, trans. E. J. Donnelly (New York, 1911), Document R, pp. 493 ff.; H. Denifle, "Die Denkschriften der Colonna gegen Bonifaz VIII.," *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, V (1889), 493 ff.; Mohler, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff.; M. M. Curley, *The Conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip IV, the Fair* (Washington, D.C., 1927), pp. 57 f.; Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, VI, 379.

³⁵ Gregorovius, *Rome* (English ed.), V, ii, 545; Tosti, *op. cit.*, p. 196. This view is adopted by Sister Curley, *loc. cit.*

one. But there are indications that the substance of the memorandum came from France and consisted of certain "determinations" believed to have been drawn up for Philip, after due discussion, by a group of Paris professors.³⁶

The protesters of Longhezza set forth twelve reasons why the abdication of Celestine and the election of Boniface are invalid. They represent the papal office as supreme and divinely bestowed. In view of this character of the office, an incumbent cannot be released from it by man but by God alone. "Nulla potentia creata est major quam papalis nulla dignitas ecclesiastica post legitimam confirmationem potest tolli nisi per ejus superiorem. Sed Papa solus Deus est major. Ergo a solo Deo tolli posse videtur." This being the case, the election of Boniface is invalidated; and only a general council can solve the problem. "You want to know whether you are Pope. . . . We firmly believe that you are not Pope. . . . For this reason we urge that a general council be at once assembled, that the truth of these matters may be declared and all error pass away." The signers will stand by the decision of the council, whatever it may be. The document was affixed to the doors of the chief churches of Rome and given wide publicity.

The appeal to a council is made here under strict limitations in respect to the council's authority. There is no question of the relation of its authority to that of a pope. Celestine being now dead, there was, in the view of the protesters, no pope with whom the council's power might be compared. But the argument for the invalidity of the abdication is upheld by a high doctrine of the papal office, which really precludes the supremacy of a council. The function of the coun-

³⁶ Arquillière, "L'Appel au concile sous Philippe le Bel et la genèse des théories conciliaires," *Revue des questions historiques*, N.S., XLV (1911), 23-55. On p. 36 this writer quotes a letter of the bishop of Beauvais: "Plures magni doctores de hoc [i.e., the abdication] disputaverunt et eorum determinationes ad dictum dominum regem dicebantur contra ipsum Bonifatium quoad illegitimum ingressum ad papatum pervenisse." Cf. Mohler, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 f.

cil is fundamentally that of a jury to try the pretender to the papacy. Beyond this, it is to clear the way for, and insure, a canonical papal election.

The Colonna looked to the College of Cardinals to assume its function of electing a legitimate pope. Indeed, in their two later memorials stress is laid upon the function and authority of the cardinals. The council should set them free from the tyranny of even a legitimate pope and should clarify their position on the basis of historical documents, "for how can they speak with free voice if any pontiff, even a legitimate one, can rage against the cardinals under color of the *plenitudo potestatis*?"³⁷ The Colonna and their French backers doubtless shrewdly hoped to gain the support of the majority of the cardinals by holding out the promise of a council which would restore the prestige of the college. But the cardinals failed to respond to this inducement.

VI

It is not necessary to our purpose to follow the story of the revenge of Boniface upon the Colonna. The final memorandum of the Colonna, dated June 15, is addressed to the chancellor and masters of the University of Paris. The Paris professors had been brusquely rebuked by Boniface when he was papal envoy in France in 1290.³⁸ As we have seen a group of them had apparently provided the materials of the libel of May 10. There is no evidence that they were stirred to action or pronouncement by the document of June 15. Philip, deeply involved with England and Flanders, was not ready to deal with Boniface in 1297, and French circles took

³⁷ Denifle, *op. cit.*, p. 522. In a memorial addressed to Philip by the Colonna after the death of Boniface the cardinals are called significantly *membra non tam corporis Ecclesiae sed capitis* (P. Dupuy, *Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Phillippes le Bel roy de France* [Paris, 1655], p. 226); cf. Finke, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 f.; Mohler, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f.

³⁸ H. Finke, "Das pariser Nationalkonzil vom Jahre 1290," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde*, IX (1895), 171; Mann, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 9 f.

an attitude of caution. There had been no formal pronouncement by the university on the abdication, and apparently there never was one.³⁹

The king was slowly drawn into a deadly encounter with the pope. Boniface had issued the bull *Clericis laicos* February 25, 1296. In the following August, Philip forbade the exportation of money, horses, and arms from France. In August, 1297, his chancellor, Peter Flotte, was in Rome to negotiate with the pope and to keep in touch with the Italian opposition. The crushing measures taken by Boniface against the Colonna sent James "Sciarra," brother of Cardinal Peter, in great distress to France, where he was favorably received in 1298. William of Nogaret,⁴⁰ Philip's able and unscrupulous minister, was in Italy in 1300, forging the links of the antipapal party. Peter Flotte was again in Rome late in 1301. Flotte is said to have told the irate Boniface to his face at the time of this visit: "Your power in temporal affairs is a power in word; ours is a power in deed" (*vestra [potestas] est verbalis, nostra autem realis*).⁴¹

Yet the French campaign was one of word as well as of deed. Philip was careful to give the sanction of reason and law to his bold treatment of the pope. An extensive literature of controversy now arose.⁴² Probably among the earliest literary assaults in France upon the position of Boniface is the anonymous *Disputation* (or *Dialogue*) *between a Cleric and a Knight*, which Goldast printed among the works of Ockham, and which has also been erroneously attributed to Peter Dubois. The tract strongly affirms, apparently against *Cle-*

³⁹ Arquillière, "L'Appel ...," *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

⁴⁰ R. Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret* (Freiburg i. B., 1898). Nogaret was probably of Catharist extraction (*ibid.*, pp. 9 f.).

⁴¹ Thomas of Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* ("Rolls Series"), I, 85; cf. J. Rivière, *Le Problème de l'église et de l'état au temps de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1926), p. 121.

⁴² For a list of the principal sources and editions see Rivière, *op. cit.*, pp. 443 ff.

ricis laicos, the right of the king to tax church property.⁴³ Peter Dubois, a brilliant and original lawyer from Normandy, in a tract of 1301,⁴⁴ stoutly defended Philip and argued for the restriction of papal power to purely spiritual matters. Probably in 1302, the Dominican theologian, John of Paris, wrote a memorable treatise on the French side to which we shall presently return. Aegidius Romanus, a pupil of Aquinas, led the literary defense of the papacy in his *De ecclesiastica potestate*. The work formed the basis of the bull *Unam sanctam* of November 2, 1302, and was written shortly before that date, apparently at Rome.⁴⁵ It also opened a long series of doctrinal defenses of the papal *plenitudo potestatis*, the fullness of power in things temporal as well as spiritual, written by Arnold of Villanova, James of Viterbo, Henry of Cremona, Augustinus Triumphus of Ancona, Alvaro Pelayo of Silves, and others, during the next quarter of a century. In these works, while the fortunes of the papacy fell low, the claims of its champions mounted higher.

Philip called a meeting of the estates, and on April 10, 1302, the delegates were addressed in Notre Dame by Peter Flotte in the king's name. He was concerned to reply to the bull of the previous December 5, *Ausculta fili*, in which Philip was called a madman and his supporters infidels for assuming that he was not subject to the pope. On February 11, the bull, having been snatched by the count of Artois from the papal legate, had been publicly burned in Paris. Flotte recited with some exaggeration the terms of the bull and

⁴³ M. Goldast, *Monarchia*, I, 13-18. An English translation attributed to John of Trevisa has been edited by A. J. Perry for the Early English Texts Society (1925). Cf. R. Scholz, *Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz VIII* (Stuttgart, 1903), p. 337. Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 129, remarks: "cet opusculé reste décidément anonyme."

⁴⁴ The so-called *De abbreviatione*. See Scholz, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-21; E. Power, "Pierre Dubois and the Domination of France," in F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Medieval Thinkers* (London and New York, 1923), pp. 138-66.

⁴⁵ Scholz, *Aegidius Romanus: De ecclesiastica potestate* (Weimar, 1929), pp. x-xii.

summoned the estates to defend the liberties of the kingdom and the church. It was almost the last service he was to render to the king: the intrepid chancellor died in the lost battle of Courtrai three months after the assembly at Notre Dame. The appeal to French patriotism was successful, and Philip was encouraged to repeat the method on later occasions. The three estates each sent vigorous protests to Rome. The clergy were really divided in sentiment, but Philip had won enough support among them to annul the efforts of Boniface to bring the French bishops to a Roman synod.⁴⁶

More important was the meeting of the estates in the Louvre, March 12, 1303. Boniface had meanwhile in *Unam sanctam* made obedience to the pope a condition of salvation. He had later offered to Philip, whose position was weakened by his defeat at Courtrai, humiliating terms of agreement, and these had been rejected. Philip was now resolved to crush his enemy at any cost. His management of the assembly was again masterful. William of Nogaret, on whom he now chiefly relied since the death of Flotte, appeared as the representative of the king and the accuser of Boniface. He spoke freely but presented a manuscript of his address for purposes of record. Citing the text II Pet. 2:1, on false prophets and teachers, he asserts that a master of lies sits in Peter's seat, having basely lied his way to the throne. The self-styled Boniface is (1) not pope but (2) a manifest heretic, (3) a horrible simoniac, and (4) guilty of many grave crimes. Epithets are multiplied to give an impression of the variety and enormity of the pontiff's offenses. Nogaret continues:

Since, then, it would be proper that the said wicked man who offends alike both God and man should be condemned by discussion and decision

⁴⁶ The protest of the Commons is not extant. The other two are given in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, "Preuves," pp. 61 ff.; and in G. Picot, *Documents relatifs aux états généraux et assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel* ("Collection des documents inédits" [Paris, 1901]), pp. 5-18. See H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (2d ed.; London, 1857), V, 87 ff.; Rivière, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.; F. Rocquain, *La Cour de Rome et l'esprit de réforme avant Luther* (Paris, 1893 ff.), II, 298 ff.

in a general council of all, I seek, I demand, with all the urgency I can, and I appeal to you, Lord King, that you will notify the prelates, doctors and people, and our brother princes in Christ, especially all the cardinals and prelates, that you all may convoke a general council, in which, after the condemnation of the aforesaid abominable man, through the venerable cardinals, provision may be made for a pastor of the church. Before such a council I offer myself in readiness to sustain the aforesaid [charges].⁴⁷

The close affinity of this document with the Colonna manifestos has been recognized by numerous historians and cannot have been accidental. But Nogaret has made an important addition to the charges against Boniface: the accusation of heresy.⁴⁸ Although the Colonna faction had evidently considered the heresy charge, they had apparently thought it prudent to attack in another sector. It was the point of chief emphasis in the campaign of Nogaret. After the meeting, Nogaret departed for Italy, where, with Sciarra Colonna, he was to remove Boniface from the throne. The violence to Boniface came because of his refusal to co-operate in the assembling of the council to try him for heresy.⁴⁹

A new assembly (not a formal meeting of the estates) met in the Louvre, June 13-14, where the king's spokesman was William of Plaisans. His speech of the first day again urged the king to give his attention to the assembling of a general council. On the following day he presented a series of twenty-nine charges against Boniface, couched in the most abusive language. Here specific heresies are ascribed to the pope. He disbelieves in immortality and teaches that bodily indulgence is not sin. Not believing in the Eucharist, he practices irregularities in the service of the mass. And he holds a Frenchman lower than a dog or an ass and would not admit that he has a soul. He has a familiar demon and consults diviners. He is guilty of sodomy and concubinage. The list of abuses

⁴⁷ Picot, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-33; cf. Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. Arquillière, "L'Appel ...," *loc. cit.*, p. 40.

⁴⁹ E. Boutaric, *La France sous Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1861), p. 115; Hefele-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, VI, i, 449 ff.

connected with his government of the church is long and formidable. The propaganda value of the document is enhanced by repeated references to the pope's unmitigated hatred of the French.

Again the speaker calls for the assembling of a council "in a suitable and safe place, and at an opportune time," associating himself with Nogaret by name in this appeal. The king replied accepting the proposal. He would have preferred "to cover his father's nakedness with his own mantle," but devotion and conscience require his defense of the church. He therefore, "saving the honor and reverence due to the Holy Roman Church," assents to the calling of a council and urges the prelates present to co-operate.⁵⁰ Arquillière points to the importance of the charge of heresy in giving to the appeal for a council "a sort of juridical regularity" and influencing the decision of the bishops.⁵¹ The whole scene was arranged to obtain their assent, and it was obtained: the two who refused were instantly seized and imprisoned. By letters Philip sought the adherence of Spain, Portugal, Navarre, and Italy to his project.

Plaisans was able to charge that Boniface had approved a book by Arnold of Villanova (on the prophecy of Daniel), which had already been condemned as heretical by the masters of Paris. On June 21, 1303, the university took action in support of the appeal for a council.⁵² The king was determined to secure the assent of the ecclesiastics, monks, and friars throughout the nation, and his agents industriously labored to this end. A study of Picot's documents illustrates this aspect of the royal policy. At the Louvre assembly numerous prelates and abbots signed a document in which they recorded their assent to the appeal, "holding that the calling and meeting of the said council is useful and quite necessary."

⁵⁰ Picot, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-49; cf. Rocquain, *op. cit.*, II, 304 ff.; Mann, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 356 ff.

⁵¹ "L'Appel ...," *loc. cit.*, p. 43.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

On June 25, the Minorites of Paris approved the project: the instrument is signed by two Doctors and two Masters in theology and by eighty plain "friars." On the twenty-sixth the Preaching Friars, to the number of one hundred and thirty, approved.⁵³ The name of Raymond, provincial prior of France, heads the list. On July 19, 22, and 25, Raymond wrote to his subordinates as follows:

Letter of the Provincial of the Friars Preachers of France, with whom is associated the Prior of the Paris convent, addressed to all convents of the Order in France:

To all the priors, the sub-priors, and their vicars, and the other brethren of the Order of Friars Preachers in the province of France to whom the present letters shall come, brother Raymond, the unworthy Provincial Prior of that Order in the said province [wishes] health and progress in saving grace. The most serene prince and loving lord, Philip, by the grace of God, illustrious King of the French, the prelates of France and barons of the same kingdom, saving their reverence for Holy Mother Church and the truth of the Catholic faith, on mature previous deliberation, having consulted the councils and reviewed various tractates (*digestis conciliis et variis tractatibus iteratis*) for certain reasons, and on account of weighty articles which they can explain to you more fully through others, are seeking the convocation of a sacred general council, and are applying themselves to labor for this end as much as in them lies. And lest, perchance, meanwhile any charge should be brought against them by the Supreme Pontiff, they appeal on behalf of themselves and their adherents to that sacred council, or the legitimately succeeding future Supreme Pontiff, or the College of Cardinals, to him or to them to whom of right the matter ought to belong—the University of Paris and the colleges, both religious and secular, consenting to the said petition and adhering to the aforesaid appeal. And I also, brother Bernard, of our Paris friars, and of their convent at that place, do this same, lest we should seem to glory, as if with exchanged glances, in our own understanding. This, at any rate, I determined to signify to you, beloved, that you may so act with clear-eyed consideration that you may not incur the indignation of our lord, the King, and that you cannot be deservedly censured by anyone else. Farewell, and pray for me.

Given at Paris, in the Feast of St. Margaret the Virgin [July 22].⁵⁴

The prudence of Prior Bernard is interesting here. Interesting too, in the light of what one of the signers, John of

⁵³ Picot, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff., 380 ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Document CCCCVII, pp. 383 ff.

Paris, had already written, is the reference to careful deliberation and research before framing the appeal for a council.⁵⁵

VII

Boniface was assaulted at Anagni by Nogaret and Sciarra on September 7, 1303, and died on October 11. The fall of Boniface weakened the king's ardor for a council, but not that of Nogaret. Excommunicated by Benedict XI for his part in the event, he continued to allege heresy against Boniface, perhaps in order to rehabilitate himself.⁵⁶ A year after the Anagni incident, he wrote a long apology for his conduct. He renewed the theme in other writings and continued to demand a council. As Arquillière remarks, it was the "astute legist," Nogaret, who discerned that the charge of heresy touched "the vulnerable point of the medieval papacy."⁵⁷

It is to be noted that Nogaret, and the king's legists generally, claim for the council no authority except in the lapse, or heretical defect, of the papacy. A theologian of Paris, however, proved himself in this matter more radical than the lawyers. It was probably near the end of the year 1302 that John of Paris (Jean Quidort, d. 1306), a Dominican and a professor of theology, published his important tractate, *De protestate regia et papali*.⁵⁸ John of Paris was a liberal in his

⁵⁵ See below, p. 294. Not all the friars readily assented. The Montpellier Dominicans on July 28 refused to obey the king's commissioners without the "express will and consent" of the prior-general of the order. They were ordered to leave the kingdom within three days (Picot, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.).

⁵⁶ Arquillière, "L'Appel ...," *loc. cit.*, p. 45.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁵⁸ It was also circulated under the title: *De sacerdotio et regno* (text in Goldast, *op. cit.*, II, 108-47. I have used the Harvard Library copy, edition of 1668). See also Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.*, pp. 270 ff.; Scholz, *Die Publizistik . . .*, pp. 275-333; Rivière, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 ff., 281-300. Scholz includes an account of what is known of John's life, and this is supplemented by M. Grabmann, "Studien über Johannes Quidort von Paris," *O. Pr. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerische akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich, 1922), pp. 1-11, 58 f. "Quidort" (Latin *Surdus*) was a family name. John was a teacher of renown (*famosus magister*) before he became a Dominican. He was born not later than 1269, entered the order after 1290, and died September 22, 1306. He was the author of a disturbing treatise on the Eucharist,

views of secular and ecclesiastical politics. In a very real sense he was a conciliarist; and his arguments were appropriated by the conciliarists of later days, including Gerson.⁵⁹ The Dominican, whose order was organized on the principle of representative government; the professor, whose university was a school of free discussion and corporate rule, is an exponent of the idea of representation in the government of the church. In his church polity absolutism is excluded. The pope is not the absolute master of the church but its chief servant; it is doing him a wrong to exalt his arbitrary will. He is responsible to the whole church, and in the matter of ecclesiastical property must not conduct himself as *persona privata* but as *persona publica et vicarius Christi*. It is the whole church (*communitas*) in which resides the lordship of ecclesiastical goods; and the pope is the responsible steward of the property of the community of Christians.⁶⁰ Just as a monastery may take action to depose an abbot, or a particular church to depose a bishop, if it should appear that he is dissipating the properties of the monastery or the church and faithlessly wasting or alienating them not for the common good but for his own, so may the pope, the *summus episcopus*, be deposed for like conduct of his office.⁶¹

The various cases in which he holds that a pope may be censured or deposed prevailingly reflect the special issue with

De modo existendi corporis Christi in sacramento altaris (1304). C. Cipolla has compared John's *De potestate* with the *De monarchia* of Dante, written a few years later: *Il Trattato De monarchia di Dante Alighieri e l'opuscolo De potestate regia et papali di Giovanni da Parigi* ("Memorie della R. accademia di Torino," Ser. II, Vol. XLII [1892]), pp. 325-419.

⁵⁹ Rivi re, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 and 295; Scholz, *Die Publizistik* . . . , p. 309.

⁶⁰ "Communitas autem dominium verum habet in bonis ecclesiasticis. . . . Papa est dispensator bonorum communitatis, in quo requiritur bona fides. [Cf. *dispensator* in Luke 12:42; I Cor. 4:2] Et sic dicentes, os ponunt in caelo, & iniuriam faciunt Summo Pontifici patri nostro qui voluntatem suam praedicant sic esse inordinatam. . . . ut scilicet sine causa rationabili vellet auferre alicui quod suum est cum aliter non possit de jure." *De potestate* vi; Goldast, *op. cit.*, II, 115). Cf. Scholz, *Die Publizistik*. . . , pp. 318 ff.

⁶¹ Goldast, *loc. cit.*

Boniface; but the principles involved reach far. The pope can make no pronouncement that certain opinions are heretical, or that the supporters of the king of France are heretics, without a general council. It is unscriptural and untraditional that such pronouncement should be made without mature consideration, the previous holding of a council, and wide discussion among scholars.⁶² John holds that the papal doctrine of the two swords is not scriptural and is contrary to the canons of Nicea and Chalcedon; and he affirms: "Since the Christian church is catholic and universal, the Supreme Pontiff cannot make this a matter of faith, without a general council. . . . For the reason that the world is greater than Rome and the pope, the council is greater than the pope alone."⁶³ Thus the pope is accountable to a council not merely in case of heresy but in case of maladministration of the property of the church, and of exceeding his powers in pronouncing on matters of faith and heresy. John carefully and repeatedly distinguishes between the pope and the papacy. The papacy is from God alone, but in a given incumbent it is by co-operation of men—"consent of the elected and electors"—and may be vacated when this co-operation ceases. For his failures and abuses of office a pope may be made to answer "before the College of Cardinals, which in this case is in place of the whole church." But it is proper that the deposition of a pope be effected by means of a general council.⁶⁴ John strongly affirms that the

⁶² "Nisi cum magna maturitate & habito prius concilio generali, & discussione facta ubique per literatos" (*De potestate* xxiii; Goldast, *op. cit.*, 142 f.).

⁶³ "Cum fides christiana sit catholica et universalis, non potest Summus Pontifex hoc ponere sub fide sine concilio generale. . . . Eo quod orbis major est urbe et Papa concilium maius est Papa solo" (*De potestate* xxii; Goldast, *op. cit.*, II, 139). Cf. Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

⁶⁴ "Sed ad deponendum decet, quod fiat per concilium generale" (*De potestate* xxiv; Goldast, *op. cit.*, II, 144). "Licet sit summa virtus in persona tamen est ei aequalis vel maior in collegio, sive in tota ecclesia. Vel potest dici, quod potest deponi a collegio, vel maius a generali concilio, auctoritate divina cuius consensus supponitur et praesumitur ad eum deponendum, ubi apparet manifestum scandalum, & incorrigibilitas ipsius praesidentis" (*ibid.*, p. 146). John does not say that the

ultimate church authority rests in the whole church, the *populus Christianus* which forms one mystical body under the headship of Christ, not of Peter or the pope⁶⁵—a view constantly reiterated by the later conciliarists. He would emancipate bishops and priests from the undue pressure of papal authority. They have their office not from the pope but from God and the people of the church. It was not Peter but Christ who commissioned the Seventy and imparted the Holy Spirit to the disciples (Luke, chap 10; John, chap 22).⁶⁶ The tendency of this argument is to give the members and ministers of the church a share in its government proportional to their place and functions, each participating in the divinely bestowed authority which resides in the church as a whole.

Following Aristotle, John holds that government best which mingles kingship with aristocracy and representative democracy. The pattern of this liberal and responsible monarchy in the church he professes to derive from Scripture. Much in the manner of a Calvinist defending a presbyterian polity from the Old Testament, and with a marked absence of allegorization, he turns for support to passages in Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Kings. He especially cites the council of seventy (seventy-two) elders, "elected" to assist Moses "by the people, and from the whole people, as it is

council is infallible but that it acts "with divine authority." This is a typical attitude of the conciliarists.

⁶⁵ "Quod autem dicitur xxix de vero capite dici potest, quod una est Ecclesia, unus populus Christianus, unum corpus mysticum: non quidem in Petro, vel Lino, sed in Christo qui solus proprie et maxime est caput Ecclesiae." The pope is to be called "head" only as *principalis inter ministros* (*De potestate* xix; Goldast, *op. cit.*, II, 134; cf. *ibid.*, p. 122; Woolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 366 f.).

⁶⁶ "Potestas prelatorum inferiorum non est a Deo mediante Papa, sed immediate a Deo et a populo eligente vel consentiente" (*De potestate* x; Goldast, *op. cit.*, II, 119). Priests and bishops alike are addressed at ordination: "Receive ye the Holy Spirit. "Nam ut dicit glossa Luc. 10: Sicut in Apostolis forma est episcoporum sic in lxxii discipulis forma est presbyterorum secundi ordinis" (*De potestate* xiii [misprinted xii], Goldast, II, 124). Cf. Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 374. [In Luke 10:1, 17 the Vulgate has "seventy-two" for "seventy."]

said there.”⁶⁷ “And thus,” he adds, “we should assuredly have the best government of the church if under the one pope a number were elected by each province, and from each province (*eligerentur plures ab omni provincia et de omni provincia*), that so all might have their part in the government of the church.” John does not clarify the relation between this advisory body and the College of Cardinals, which as we have seen is elsewhere regarded as representative of the whole church in censuring the pope. Rivière asks whether in this “permanent Estates-General” of the church John simply had in mind the “systematic regionalization” of the college, and on account of the lack of clarity here declines to call John without reserve a conciliarist. But it should be observed that, if the reference is to a reformed College of Cardinals, the reform contemplated is something more than mere “regionalization.” It involves the radical departure of election by, as well as from, the several provinces instead of appointment by the pope. And this, it seems to me, is an application of the essential principle of conciliarism, whatever names are to be used for the representative council or councils.

Rivière further suggests that John’s utterances on a council and its authority are *obiter dicta*, “episodic” to his main thought, perhaps mere speculation.⁶⁸ But the thoughtful Dominican writes in dead earnest. He is not indeed a bullying and violent partisan like Nogaret or Plaisans but a well-poised scholar who appreciates the consequences of what he has to say. To discover in him much that is traditional is not to discount the novel and modern aspects of his thought. Upon these, and by no perversion of them, later conciliarism built.

The conciliar pattern of government offered by John

⁶⁷ “Eligebantur a populo, et de toto populo, ut dicitur ibidem” (*De potestate* xx; Goldast, *op. cit.*, II, 137). He refers to Deuteronomy, chap. 5. Cf. Num. 11:16; Deut. 5:23.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 300.

naturally recalls, as Scholz and Rivière have already noted,⁶⁹ the analogous provisions of the Dominican constitution. The Dominicans in England have been credited by Ernest Barker with having influenced, through their constitutional practice and their advice, the form of the convocation of the Church of England and the rise of the English parliament.⁷⁰ Certainly they possessed a detailed and workable system of representative and deliberative assemblies. There is possibly more than an accidental accord between John's demand for mature consideration by the learned and Prior Raymond's stress on deliberation and research in the letter to the French Dominicans quoted above (p. 291). In the Dominican Order three readings of every measure were required before it could become law.⁷¹ By comparison the utterances of Boniface VIII seemed hasty and ill-advised. The council method would assure the wisdom of mature discussion. It is not to be supposed that we have here simply a proposal to apply Dominican principles of government to the entire church. But it is only reasonable to think that experience of the system of the Dominicans gave John confidence in the representative principle and predisposed him to the advocacy of a council and of the permanent employment of the conciliar method. Aquinas himself, while a monarchist in ecclesiastical polity, approved of responsible government in the secular order. The conciliarists were to insist upon the equal applicability of democratic principles in the church.⁷²

⁶⁹ Scholz, *Die Publizistik* . . . , p. 317; Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

⁷⁰ *The Dominican Order and Convocation* (Oxford, 1913); cf. G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 5, 85 ff.

⁷¹ Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁷² "Johanns Staatsideal is also ganz analog seinem kirchen: eine Art Repräsentativverfassung mit Beteiligung aller Stände des Volks an der Regierung" (Scholz, *Die Publizistik* . . . , p. 329). John works out in an interesting way the relations of the pope and the temporal power. He adopts the traditional view that the spiritual is higher than the temporal since it has to do with man's eternal future; yet he carefully distinguishes this superiority from authority to exercise control. The temporal power is conferred by God, not by the pope: the power of princes is of greater antiquity than that of pontiffs. Although the temporal power is from God *immediate*, it

VIII

On the eve of the Council of Vienne of 1311, William le Maire, the venerable bishop of Angers, unable to attend the council, wrote for its guidance in matters of reform a memorandum of striking force. It appears in the collection entitled *Liber Gulielmi majoris*.⁷³ The document is mainly a catalogue of abuses, forming in all a distressful lament on the decay of the church. The writer is a strong Gallican; he charges much of the prevailing evil to the church's policy of centralization. His contribution to conciliarism is slight. His view is essentially conservative, and he relies for reform upon a vigorous reaffirmation of the decisions of past councils rather than upon the acts of future ones.

A somewhat different spirit is exhibited in the *De modo generalis concilii celebrandi* of William Durand, bishop of Mende,⁷⁴ a treatise also prepared for the Council of Vienne. This extensive, disorderly, and original work⁷⁵ first flings out the slogan of the conciliarists, "reform of the church in head and members,"⁷⁶ and presents the council as the means of

may be directed to the blessed life by the spiritual power. Here there is set forth a mutual power of reform possessed by pope and emperor. A pope may intervene in politics *sub conditione* and *per accidens*—through the confessional and church censures—and may even bring about the deposition of a ruler. On the other hand, a prince may apply sanctions against a criminous pope and may *indirecte* and *per accidens* bring about his deposition. "Si Papa esset criminosus et scandalisaret Ecclesiam et incorrigibilis esset, princeps posset ipsum excommunicare indirecte et deponere ipsum per accidens, movendo scilicet ipsum per se et per cardinales. Et si quidem Papa acquiescere nollet, posset aliquid facere in populo unde compelleretur cedere vel deponetur" (*De postestate* V, XIV; Goldast, *op. cit.*, II, 113, 127). Cf. Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 296. For John's views regarding the empire and its relations to kingdoms see Woolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 343 ff.; 364 ff.

⁷³ Edited by C. Port, *Mélanges historiques* ("Collection des documents inédits" [Paris, 1857]), II, 187–570. The "Avis au pères du concile de Vienne" begins on p. 471. Port gives (pp. 187–201) a sympathetic sketch of the life of the bishop.

⁷⁴ Not to be confused with his more renowned namesake and predecessor who died in 1296.

⁷⁵ Printed at Lyons, 1534, and in the collection *Tractatus illustrium . . . Jurisconsultorum* (Venice, 1584), XII, i, a, 154–82.

⁷⁶ Scholz, *Die Publizistik* . . . , p. 220.

this reform. He desires to reduce the papacy and to advance the episcopate. He is thus a representative of that variety of conciliarism, or variation from it, which has sometimes been called "episcopalism."⁷⁷ The council which he advocates is an assembly of the bishops of the church. Their consent should be required for any new enactment, since "what touches all should be approved by all." This principle is not applied to the common priest, or to the layman. The general council should assemble once every ten years. Its decrees should be promulgated in the provincial councils by means of visitors appointed in it for that purpose. Durand resents all papal interference in the local episcopal administration. In his own diocese the bishop should have large independent powers. The episcopate has also a corporate existence and authority. As an order, the bishops correspond to the apostles and the Seventy. Their corporate authority is to be exercised through the regularly recurring decennial councils. Reform is to begin with the pope and the corrupt papal court. Needless to say, Durand is in no danger of confusing the council with the cardinals; the council is to subject them to a rigorous reformation.⁷⁸ He is a great believer in the value of discussion by numbers. *Ibi salus ubi consilia multa*, he quotes from Proverbs. "On this word of scripture," says Rivière, "William rests a whole parliamentary system."

IX

General councils of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were ordinarily presided over by, and largely obedient to, the popes. The conception of a general council as an offset to papal centralization, or as a means of combating papal policies, rarely came to expression before the pontificate of

⁷⁷ K. D. Schmidt, *Studien zur Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* (Tübingen, 1925), pp. 6 ff. Schmidt cites Langenstein as an episcopalist and refers to Durand as a beginner of this teaching in the era, though he regards it as deriving from Cyprian.

⁷⁸ Cf. J. Haller, *Papsttum und Kirchenreform* (Berlin, 1903), I, 58 ff. Rivière, pp. 363 ff.

Boniface VIII. Frederick Barbarossa associated the authority of the council with that of the empire. Conceiving of the emperor's office in terms of divine right and citing the precedent of Constantine, he took it upon himself to summon councils to deal with a papal schism which had arisen through action of his own partisans. Whatever pressure he brought to bear upon the decisions of these councils, he admitted in theory their independent authority to decide the question at issue and to guide the church in time of grave crisis.

In France the authority of councils had been affirmed in the tenth century, at a time of weakness in the papacy, and later councils had occasionally expressed hostility to papal policies. During the disputes concerning the succession of Boniface VIII, the French Franciscan, Peter Olivi, restricted the occasion of a general council to a time of danger of schism, or of general perplexity in the church. The protest of the Colonna (1297) called for a council on the ground not of any superiority of councils over popes but of the alleged fact that the reigning pope is not pope *de jure* but a pretender. The council is to judge and depose him and provide for a canonical election by the cardinals. It had always been assumed that a pope could be removed if he fell into heresy. Nogaret and Plaisans, on behalf of Philip the Fair, adroitly emphasized the charge of heresy against Boniface, adding to it a long catalogue of alleged personal offenses and administrative abuses; and urgently sought to bring about a council to adjudicate these charges (1303).

The emergency of true conciliarism comes with the tractate *De potestate regia et papali* of John Quidort of Paris, written apparently late in 1302. This Dominican theologian conceives of church polity in terms of representation, thus excluding papal and all other absolutism. He makes the pope responsible to the Christian people and gives the council, as representing the Catholic or universal church, authority to censure or depose the pontiff not only for heresy but for in-

competence or misgovernment. The council, he asserts, is greater than the pope. He projects a permanent assembly to assist the pope, made up of representatives elected by, and from, each province. He is concerned to secure deliberation and discussion before the enactment of measures for the church. These principles may have been derived in part from experience of the working of the Dominican constitution. William Durand the younger in *De modis generalis concilii celebrandi* asserts the authority of bishops as against that of the pope and conceives of a general council in terms of an assembly of the episcopate (episcopalism). He proposes decennial meetings of this general episcopal council. It is to send down its findings to the provincial councils, whose activity he would also revive.

It was not Marsiglio of Padua, Michael of Cesena, and William of Ockham who laid the foundations of fourteenth-century conciliarism but their predecessors, John of Paris and William Durand of Mende. But we may well suppose that these high-minded scholars would hardly have been led to publish their ideas, or perhaps even stimulated to shape them, had it not been for the publicity given to the project of a council by headstrong politicians who had little or no contribution to make to the theory.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Since the above paper was completed, two of a longer series of studies by V. Martin on aspects of early conciliarism have appeared: "Comment s'est formée la doctrine de la supériorité du concile sur le pape, I: La tradition canonique avant le grand schisme d'Occident; II: Les idées répandues par Marsile de Padoue et Occam touchant la constitution de l'église," *Revue des sciences religieuses*, XVII [1937], 121-43; 261-89. The author expounds the conservative views of canonists and glossators who held that a pope could be deposed only for heresy. He points out, however, that Huguccio and John the Teuton recognized in scandalous crime the "equivalent of heresy" or "a tacit heresy." In brief references to John of Paris, Martin observes that the Paris Dominican included among the occasions of deposition the waste of the church's goods. He presents no examination of the positive teaching of the *De potestate* on the function and authority of councils and is content to regard its author as a follower of John the Teuton. In accordance with the opinion stated above, Martin holds that the procedure of Philip the Fair and his ministers marks no essential departure from the orthodox canonical theory.

A STUDY OF TWELFTH-CENTURY INTEREST
IN THE ANTIQUITIES OF ROME

*

JAMES BRUCE ROSS

IT HAS long been assumed by historians that the men of the Middle Ages in western Europe viewed the relics and monuments of classical antiquity with no sense of their historical or aesthetic value but either neglected them entirely, except where they possessed intrinsic worth, or regarded them through a veil of superstition and legend. This idea was made current by certain scholars of the past century, such as Georg Voigt,¹ Jacob Burckhardt,² and John Addington Symonds,³ who popularized many of the prevailing conceptions of the Renaissance. Influenced by their subject to enhance unduly the peculiar contribution of the Italian Renaissance in the realm of antiquarian and archeological pursuits as in other fields of cultural activity, they asserted that not until the fourteenth century did there appear any genuine understanding and appreciation of the material remains of the past and of Roman antiquities in particular. Even a comparatively recent authority shares the same belief.⁴

¹ *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* (3d ed.; Berlin, 1893), I, 266.

² *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London, 1914), p. 177.

³ *The Renaissance in Italy: The Revival of Learning* (3d ed.; New York, 1920), pp. 104 f. See also Gustav Körting, *Geschichte der Litteratur Italiens im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Vol. I: *Petrarca's Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, 1878), p. 116.

⁴ Sir Richard Jebb, "The Classical Renaissance," in *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I: *The Renaissance* (New York and London, 1902), pp. 546 f.

The prevalence of such an opinion today can be accounted for in part by the unconscious bias of the authorities mentioned above and also perhaps by the absence of any treatment, either exhaustive or superficial, of the subject of medieval antiquarianism as a whole.⁵ Recently, however, an attempt has been made in a dissertation,⁶ of which this essay forms a part, to consider more extensively and carefully, though by no means exhaustively, the medieval interest in antiquities; and the conclusion to which the investigation has led is that the current opinion must be rejected in favor of a broader view of the subject.

It is undeniable that utilitarian motives and legendary associations played a large part in determining the medieval attitude toward the relics of the past, but they did not play the exclusive roles claimed for them by the authorities on the Renaissance. Evidence has been assembled which reveals the medieval interests in antiquities to have been diverse in character and which proves the existence throughout the Middle Ages of certain more enlightened types of interest, namely, in the historical significance and artistic value of ancient monuments and *objets d'art*. No claim is made that such an intelligent attitude was typical or widespread in the Middle Ages; it was undoubtedly exceptional, though it may well have been more extensive than the present limited study would indicate.

In general it can be said that instances of genuine anti-

⁵ The following comparatively brief studies are of related interest and contain suggestive material: Anton Springer, "Das Nachleben der Antike im Mittelalter" in *Bilder aus der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (2d ed.; Bonn, 1886), Vol. I, chap. i, Eugène Müntz, "La Tradition antique chez les artistes du Moyen Age," *Journal des savants*, 1887, pp. 629 ff.; 1888, pp. 40 ff. and 162 ff. (this article is a review of Springer's essay); Friedrich von Bezold, *Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1922). Valuable material relating to Rome is contained in two works of recent date: Fedor Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1926), and Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* ("Studien der Bibliothek Warburg" [Leipzig and Berlin, 1929]).

⁶ "A Study of the Mediaeval Attitude toward Antiquities," unpublished Doctor's thesis, Department of History, University of Chicago, 1934.

quarian interests, such as have been defined above, seem to increase from century to century during the Middle Ages and to be especially notable in the Carolingian age and in the twelfth century, two periods often designated by the term "Renaissance" because of their preoccupation with the literature of antiquity. This essay will be limited to a consideration of interest in the monuments of Rome in the twelfth century.

It was natural that the new attitude toward Roman letters, philosophy, and law, which we characterize as the Renaissance of the twelfth century, should have been accompanied by a heightened concern for the material remains of antiquity.⁷ The evidences of interest in Roman antiquities may be considered in three divisions: first, instances of aesthetic appreciation of monuments and works of art; second, examples of interest in monuments as historical objects; and, third, descriptions of Rome or of parts of the city which include manifestations of both types of interest noted above as well as other attitudes and feelings toward the ancient ruins and relics. The third group is especially notable in being a more or less new development, with a single comparable precursor in the Einsiedeln *Itinerary*,⁸ but with innumerable successors in the Renaissance and in modern times.

The first and most celebrated example of aesthetic response to the ruins of Rome is found in the poems of Hildebert of Lavardin, distinguished prelate and famous poet of the late

⁷ See the brief comments of C. H. Haskins (*The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* [Cambridge, 1927], pp. 119 ff.), who insists that the visitors to Rome in this period were "not archaeologists" but admits the existence of some humanist interest in ancient monuments.

⁸ An itinerary or guide to the city of Rome, dating from the Carolingian period, which describes the chief routes of pilgrimage through the city but includes prominent mention of pagan monuments and is followed by a collection of inscriptions, Christian and pagan, from Rome and Pavia. The best critical edition is by Heinrich Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* (Berlin, 1871-1907), II, 646 ff.

eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Although Hildebert played a considerable role as a churchman, first as bishop of Le Mans and later as archbishop of Tours, his fame as a poet was greater, even among his contemporaries, including St. Bernard, who recognized and admired his talents. The poem "De Roma" expresses strikingly Hildebert's feeling for the monuments of the city.⁹ It was probably composed on his return from Rome early in the twelfth century; thus he saw Rome not many years after the Norman sack. The elegy is in essence a lament over the fate of the ancient city, once so powerful, so glorious, and so splendid, now in ruins. The note of sorrow is, however, counterbalanced by a note of wonder and admiration for the matchless beauty of Rome and her monuments even in a state of ruin, especially for the pagan statues of the gods which were evidently still numerous. These two emotions in the mind of the writer are apparent in the opening lines:

Rome, thy grand ruins, still beyond compare,
Thy former greatness mournfully declare,
Though time thy stately palaces around
Hath strew'd, and cast thy temples to the ground.¹⁰

After celebrating the fallen power of the city, the poet returns to the theme of her incomparable beauty, which can never again be equaled, even in its ruin:

Fall'n is that city, whose proud fame to reach,
I merely say, "Rome was," there fails my speech.
Still neither time's decay, nor sword, nor fire,
Shall cause its beauty wholly to expire.

⁹ See B. Hauréau, "Notice sur les mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, XXVIII (1888), Part II, 331 f. For commentaries see in particular Carlo Pascal, *Poesia Latina medievale* (Catania, 1907), pp. 19 ff.; H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (3d ed.; New York, 1919), II, 168; Max. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* ("Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft" [Munich, 1911-31]), III, 863 f.; Schramm, *op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 296 ff.

¹⁰ The English version quoted here is from the translation of William of Malmesbury's *De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, in *The Church Historians of England: Pre-Reformation Series*, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1853-56), III, Part I, 300 f.

Human exertions raised that splendid Rome,
Which gods in vain shall strive to overcome.
Bid wealth, bid marble, and bid fate attend,
And watchful artists o'er the labour bend,
Still shall the matchless ruin art defy
The old to rival, or its loss supply.

The most notable part of the elegy, however, and the most striking in its pagan sentiment of frank admiration for the images of the gods, is the last:

Here gods themselves their sculptured forms admire,
And only to reflect those forms aspire;
Nature unable such like gods to form,
Left them to man's creative genius warm;
Life breathes within them, and the suppliant falls,
Not to the god, but statues in the walls.
City thrice bless'd! were tyrants but away,
Or shame compelled them justice to obey

These lines in particular have stimulated much comment and discussion among modern scholars and have led some to believe that the poem, classic in sentiment as well as in form, was actually an ancient work in whole or in part. Hauréau,¹¹ on the contrary, scorns this opinion and vigorously defends the authorship of Hildebert; he considers the sentiments natural to a scholar of Hildebert's time, thoroughly versed in classical literature. Pascal¹² defends another thesis—that Hildebert himself wrote the poem but made use of fragments of an ancient elegy on the fall of Rome which was probably written in the fifth century. He bases his argument primarily on the pagan content of the poem, especially notable in certain lines including the last ones. Schramm¹³ considers Hildebert's authorship to be now definitely established.

It has been thought that Hildebert was shocked by the pagan emotions aroused within him by the spectacle of ancient Rome and that he sought to efface this impression in

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, Part I, p. 297.

a second elegy to Rome.¹⁴ The second poem¹⁵ is in truth a response of Rome to the first poem, in which the ancient city rejoices in her fate; despite the loss of her past power, glory, and external splendor, the present is greater than the past because she now serves one God, and her kingdom is not of this earth but of heaven. Peter stands higher than Caesar. The abounding Christian emotion of this poem, however, cannot wholly obscure the persistence of some of the pagan sentiments expressed in the first poem. As Graf¹⁶ points out, the very enumeration of the losses suffered by the city shows that the good acquired does not wholly console for the good that is lost. Pascal detects in this poem the fragment of another ancient poem.¹⁷

The point of interest to us is one on which all agree—that the poems of the great churchman contain sentiments commonly regarded as pagan with regard to the ancient monuments and statues of Rome. Even if the emotions expressed in the first poem were not entirely original with Hildebert, at least their appropriation by him shows his sympathy with them, and the Christian tone of the second poem merely makes the feeling for the pagan city more striking.

The fact that Hildebert's response to the ruins of Rome was not an isolated instance of such feeling in the twelfth century is amply proved by the popularity of the first poem among his contemporaries. Hauréau says this poem was the one which contributed most to swell the fame of Hildebert in the Middle Ages.¹⁸ William of Malmesbury included it during the lifetime of Hildebert in his *Gesta regum*, although it has only slight connection with the events related therein.

¹⁴ Ferdinand Gregorovius, *The History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, trans. from the 4th German ed. by A. Hamilton (London, 1894-1902), IV, Part I, 250.

¹⁵ Ed. Hauréau, *op. cit.*, pp. 334 f.

¹⁶ Arturo Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo* (Turin, 1882), I, 35.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 333.

He introduces Hildebert's poem with a few words of his own on the sad contrast between ancient and modern Rome. Rome, he says, was formerly mistress of the world; it now seems a petty town in comparison with antiquity. He then deplores the inert and corrupt character of the modern Romans and concludes thus:

Whatever I might try to say concerning the city and its inhabitants the verses of Hildebert have already said: I shall insert them here, not that I may gain glory for myself from the work of another but it will be the sign of an ingenuous mind if I, not jealous of his glory, give evidence of his pleasing eloquence.¹⁹

William's admiration for the poem and sympathy with its sentiments are obvious from these words and also from the passage following the poem, where he says:

Are not these words sufficient to prove concerning such a great city both the dignity of its former greatness and the majesty of its present ruin? But, lest anything should be lacking for its honor, I shall add the number of the gates and the multitude of its sacred relics.²⁰

With this pious intent he proceeds to name fourteen gates with the churches and tombs of the martyrs and saints adjacent to each.

A unique instance of the purchase of ancient statues in Rome by a foreigner is related by John of Salisbury.²¹ Henry, bishop of Winchester and brother of King Stephen, was suspended from his bishopric by Eugene III, and on this account he went to Rome in 1151 to obtain absolution as well as to attempt to secure the exemption of his see from the jurisdiction of Canterbury and, if possible, its elevation to the status of an archbishopric. John of Salisbury relates that, when the bishop was unable to secure anything but absolution and was ready to depart, he bought some ancient statues

¹⁹ *De gestis regum Anglorum*, iv, 351 (ed. W. Stubbs ["Rolls Series" (London, 1887-89)], II, 402 f.).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, iv, 352 (II, 404).

²¹ *Historiae pontificalis quae supersunt*, cap. 40, ed. R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1927), pp. 81 f.

in Rome which he dispatched to Winchester. And when a certain grammarian saw him, notable for his long beard and philosophic gravity, buying statues made by the pagans "subtili et laborioso magis quam studioso errore," he twitted him saying "Damasippus is a madman for purchasing antique statues."²² Someone replied for the bishop, in his own words but probably in the bishop's spirit, saying that the latter had removed their gods from the Romans lest they should worship them with the old ceremonies, as they seemed prone to do, they who now through innate and deeply rooted avarice were spiritually serving idols. For pagan Rome had held more men who despised money than Christian Rome now possessed.²³

The only other record of a twelfth-century collection of ancient works of art is contained in Sansovino's book concerning the famous men of the Orsini family. He tells how Giordano Orsini, created cardinal by Eugene III (1145-53), was one of the greatest ornaments of the church in his time. It is said that he derived great pleasure from the ancient things in Rome and that, having made a notable selection of them, he erected a public edifice where he placed them for the adornment of his native land, for the glory of his distinguished name, and for the great delight of strangers who came to his beloved city. But in later days his work was undone by his enemies.²⁴

The Roman *marmorarii* (marble-cutters, sculptors, mosaic workers) were, next to the *calcararii* (lime-burners) the worst enemies of the Roman monuments in the later Middle Ages;

²² Horace *Satires* ii. 3. 64.

²³ It is apparent that Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis, was at least impressed by the grandeur of certain pagan monuments in Rome. At one time he entertained the startling idea of bringing columns from the baths of Diocletian to use in the construction of his abbey church. See *De consecratione ecclesiae Sancti Dionysii*, cap. 2, in *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1867), p. 219.

²⁴ Francisco Sansovino, *De gli huomini illustrati della casa Orsini* (Venice, 1565), pp. 2b-3a. Doubt is cast on the authenticity of this story by Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* (Rome, 1902-12), I, 29.

they excavated and destroyed monuments to secure materials and models for their work, and they also carried on an inter-provincial and international trade in Roman marbles. A well-known branch of this guild was the Vassalecti family, which flourished in the second half of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries. Lanciani produces archeological evidence to show that certain of these marble-cutters acquired ancient works of art not merely as materials but as objects to be preserved and studied as models. He cites the description by Winckelmann of a statue in the Verospi palace, representing Aesculapius and bearing on its plinth the name (v)ASSALECTUS. This statue, according to Lanciani, undoubtedly belonged to and adorned the studio of one of this famous family of *marmorarii*.²⁵ Lanciani was also an eye-witness of the discovery and excavation of a medieval stone-cutter's shop, dating probably from the eleventh or twelfth century, in which the place of honor among blocks and fragments of marble was given to a statue of Antinous in relatively good condition. The statue had evidently been recovered from a stream of water and attempts made to cleanse it of the mud and deposits with which it was incrustured and thus preserve it as a work of art and a model.²⁶

Certain specific monuments of the city were subjects of comment and interest in the twelfth century. Hadrian's tomb is noted for its strength and impregnable character in the *Chronica regia Coloniensis* in connection with the Roman revolt led by Crescentius in 1001. The twelfth-century author says that Crescentius and his forces fortified themselves in the exceedingly strong structure of the Emperor Hadrian, which is thought to have been that of the tyrant Theodoric and which seems without injury to have survived for ages against all attacks.²⁷ The true origin of the monument is thus

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 12.

²⁶ *Pagan and Christian Rome* (Boston and New York, 1899), pp. 240 ff.

²⁷ *Chronica*. . . , an. 1001, ed. G. Waitz ("SS rerum German. in usum scholarum" [Hannover, 1880]), p. 32.

recognized by the anonymous chronicler, and the erroneous conception of its origin apparently rejected.

Both Gregorovius²⁸ and Lanciani²⁹ believe that the columns of Marcus Aurelius and of Trajan were visited by pilgrims and travelers to secure a view of the city from a lofty point. In the twelfth century the possession of the column of Trajan was disputed between the church of St. Nicolai and the abbess of St. Cyriacus. We learn this fact from a remarkable document of 1162 in which the senate of the Roman commune asserted its authority over the column, if not its ownership thereof, in an endeavor to preserve it as a historical monument for the glory of the Roman people. The document states that the senators, having heard of the controversy between the steward of St. Nicolai and the abbess of St. Cyriacus concerning the church at the foot of the column of Trajan and the column itself, have restored the church and column to the abbess in perpetuity; and,

saving the public honor of the city, the column shall never on any pretext be injured or destroyed by anyone but shall remain as it stands, whole and unharmed for the honor of the Roman people, as long as the world endures. Anyone attempting to harm it shall suffer the ultimate punishment and his goods be confiscated to the treasury.³⁰

Thus the sense of power of the new republic, and its identification of itself with the past greatness of Rome, gave birth to a feeling of reverence for the incomparable patrimony of ancient monuments and to an attempt to preserve at least one of them as a memorial of the past.

Evidences of this new feeling for the significance of the ancient monuments can also be seen in connection with the Capitol. The historical meaning of the site was recognized by Arnold of Brescia, who, according to Otto of Freising,

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, III, 547 f.

²⁹ *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (New York and London, 1899), pp. 166 f.

³⁰ Published by A. de Bouïard, "Gli antichi marmi di Roma nel medio evo," *Archiv. della R. Soc. rom. di stor. pat.*, XXXIV (1911), 241, n. 1.

stirred the Romans to revolt by urging upon them the example of the ancient Romans; they should rebuild the Capitol, restore the senatorial dignity, and reform the equestrian order.³¹ To what edifice or edifices did Arnold refer? Gregorovius³² believes he intended to designate the Tabularium, probably the greatest and most imposing ruin on the Capitol, which the popular mind had identified as the meeting-place of the ancient senate, and which in time became the actual senate house.

The arch of Constantine was observed with interest by John of Salisbury on one of his many trips to Rome. In the Prologue to Book I of the *Polycraticus* he praises literature and dwells on the value of writing and written records in preserving knowledge of the past. Who could know the Alexanders and the Caesars, the Stoics and Peripatetics if written monuments had not made them known? Who could imitate the example of the prophets and apostles if divine letters had not immortalized them for posterity?

The triumphal arches contribute to the fame of illustrious men since the inscriptions tell for what reason and to whom they were erected. Thus the observer recognizes the "liberator of the fatherland," the "founder of peace," only when the inscription indicates the conqueror Constantine to whom Britain gave birth. For no one ever shines with constant glory except by written record, his own or that of someone else.³³

Thus John of Salisbury saw the monument with the eye of a historian and recognized its significance as a historical record.

The twelfth century gave birth to a new type of literature about Rome, the detailed description and guide, of which the first and most influential example was the *Mirabilia Romae*.³⁴

³¹ *Ottonis et Rahewini gesta Friderici I imperatoris*, ii, 28 (ed. G. Waitz ["SS rerum German. in usum scholarum" (Hannover, 1912)], p. 134.

³² *Op. cit.*, IV, Part II, 476 f.

³³ *Polycraticus*, ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford, 1909), I, 13.

³⁴ A collection of the sources of the medieval topographical literature about Rome is published by C. L. Urlichs, *Codex urbis Romae topographicus* (Würzburg, 1871). The chief sources are edited and critically analyzed by Jordan, *op. cit.*, Vol. II.

This remarkable document has been the subject of much learned commentary and discussion; it will concern us here only in so far as it represents another expression of antiquarian interest in the monuments of Rome. The *Mirabilia*³⁵ is in some respects the successor to the Einsiedeln *Itinerary*, but, because of the greater extent and variety of its information, it really constitutes a new genre. We shall consider first its contents, then the hypotheses concerning its origin, and finally its antiquarian significance and its influence on later descriptions of the city.

The *Mirabilia*³⁶ consists of three distinct parts—an enumeration of the monuments of the city by categories, a group of legends concerning certain monuments, and, last, a *Periegesis* or description of the principal monuments to be encountered in a tour of the city.

The first part begins with a brief description of the fortifications of the city, enumerating the towers, forts, and battlements and naming the gates. It then lists the principal sights of the city by categories: the triumphal arches, hills, baths, palaces, theaters, bridges, cemeteries, and places connected with the passions of the saints. This information seems in part to be based on older written sources and partly on personal observation. The second part consists of five legends, three of which concern pagan monuments, and all of which contain a curious mixture of pagan and Christian tradition. They were undoubtedly based on written as well as on oral tradition,³⁷ and their substance may have been written down as early as the tenth century.³⁸

The third and main part of the *Mirabilia*, the *Periegesis*

³⁵ The two best editions, both accompanied by critical commentaries, are by Jordan, *op. cit.*, II (1871), 605 ff., and by P. Fabre and L. Duchesne in *Le Liber censuum de l'église romaine*, I (Paris, 1910), 262 ff.

³⁶ Jordan's discussion of the *Mirabilia* is found in *op. cit.*, II, 357–536. Only one manuscript, and that a corrupt text, bears a title: "Hec sunt Mirabilia Rome quomodo gloriose constructa erat" (*ibid.*, p. 374).

³⁷ See Duchesne, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. 98.

³⁸ Jordan, *op. cit.*, II, 371.

proper, is the only original contribution of the author who compiled the whole work. Duchesne³⁹ says this part might very well have been entitled "De templis" because of its almost exclusive concern with those monuments; over a hundred are named, while only twenty or more other edifices are mentioned, most of which had already been named in the first part. The purpose of the work was, according to Jordan,⁴⁰ to convince the reader that the ruins of the city were originally temples of the pagan gods; the author in almost every case first gives the contemporary name of an edifice or site and then the name of the ancient structure which formerly stood there, generally that of a temple. This ambitious endeavor to present a systematic explanation of the ruins of the city, "cette exégèse savante, appliquée à tout ce qui restait à Rome de monuments antiques,"⁴¹ is not, however, without great weaknesses. The author has in many cases located temples on sites where no ancient monuments ever stood, using freely for this purpose the names of temples drawn from Ovid and from the *Curiosum*.⁴² Moreover, he seems to have named many edifices absolutely arbitrarily and described certain monuments in a fantastic manner as he apparently believed they appeared in their ancient splendor. The *Periegesis* ends with a personal and revealing note:

There were these and many more temples and palaces of the emperors, consuls, senators, and prefects in this city of Rome in the time of the pagans. And we have done our best by writing to bring back to the memory of posterity how great was their beauty in gold and silver, in bronze and ivory and precious stones, as we have read about them in the early annals, and seen with our own eyes, and heard from old people.⁴³

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, Introd., p. 98.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, 386, 421.

⁴¹ Duchesne, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. 99. A certain topographical order is observed; see Jordan, *op. cit.*, II, 426.

⁴² One of the fourth-century regionary catalogues of the city. See Jordan, *op. cit.*, II, 541 ff.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, II, 643.

Jordan⁴⁴ assigns the composition of the *Mirabilia* to a well-informed man of the middle of the twelfth century who wrote under the influence of the feeling of his time, the communal awakening. He does not attempt to identify the author of the *Mirabilia*. An entirely new interpretation of the origin of this book is given by Duchesne⁴⁵ in his edition of the *Liber censuum*. He advances the thesis that Benedict, canon of St. Peter's, and the first to include the *Mirabilia* in a compilation concerning the temporalities of the Roman church, was actually the author of the work and that he composed it before the establishment of the Roman commune in 1144. The most recent authority, Schramm,⁴⁶ accepts Duchesne's thesis as highly probable and fixes the date of composition at about 1140 or somewhat later. He considers this description of ancient Rome as springing from the same roots as the political renewal of ancient Rome which embodied itself in the re-establishment of the Roman senate.

Our concern here is with the meaning of the *Mirabilia* as a whole, the revelation which its existence and wide diffusion afford of the spirit of curiosity, interest, and respect regarding the ancient monuments which was current in the twelfth century. The predominant concern of the author with pagan monuments is apparent both in the first section (derived in part from earlier sources) and in the third (original) section, although Christian monuments are by no means disregarded; moreover, three of the five legends deal with pagan monuments or works of art. Despite the element of fantasy contained in the accounts of certain monuments, the *Periegesis* represents "le plus ancien essai de topographie érudite,"⁴⁷ the first attempt to present not merely lists of the monuments by categories, or routes to be followed by pilgrims, but a genuine description of the city's treasures and an endeavor to give the classical name and use of each site mentioned.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 360, 362, 386.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 106.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, Introd., pp. 99 ff.

⁴⁷ Duchesne, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. 98.

The many weaknesses of the *Mirabilia* as an accurate description and trustworthy historical explanation do not alter its significance as an important manifestation of antiquarian interests in the twelfth century. Its significance in this respect is even enhanced by Duchesne's argument that the book was written before the establishment of the Roman commune, and hence was not an outgrowth of special political circumstances but rather the natural expression of an age-old and deep-seated attitude toward the wonders of the city.

That the *Mirabilia* met with great success among the reading public is proved by the stream of copies and later recensions which flowed from it and by its incorporation in whole or part into the works of future chroniclers.⁴⁸ Among the most important of the subsequent recensions is that which forms part of the famous *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* compiled in Rome about 1155.⁴⁹ Finally, through its inclusion in the thirteenth-century chronicle of Martin of Troppau, the *Mirabilia* became widely known throughout Europe and continued to serve as a guide to Rome even during the period of the Renaissance and down into the seventeenth century.⁵⁰

It has been widely believed that the long extracts concerning Rome in the chronicle of Ranulf Higden (d. 1364)⁵¹ and attributed by him to a certain Magister Gregorius were derived from the *Mirabilia* despite notable differences between the two accounts. Fortunately the complete work of Gregory has been recently discovered and edited from the apparently single extant manuscript.⁵² Thus has been re-

⁴⁸ See the list of recensions in Schramm, *op. cit.*, Part II, Appendix to Text IV, pp. 105 ff.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49. The most recent text of the *Graphia* is edited by Schramm (*ibid.*, pp. 73 ff.), who considers in great detail the complicated history of its parts and their ultimate union. See especially *ibid.*, Part I, pp. 188 ff.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Part II, p. 50.

⁵¹ *Polychronicon*, i, 25, ed. C. Babington and J. R. Lumby ("Rolls Series" [London, 1865-86]), I, 206 ff.

⁵² It was edited for the first time with a brief commentary by M. R. James, "Magister Gregorius de mirabilibus urbis Romae," *English Historical Review*,

covered a document of unique value which is completely independent of the *Mirabilia*, a description of Rome by a foreign traveler written from a secular and antiquarian point of view and based primarily on personal observation supplemented by the best local tradition.

The slight information which we possess about Gregory is derived entirely from his own words in the Prologue to his narrative. We learn that he belonged to a learned community, that he made a trip to Rome, possibly on business of a legal nature, and that he wrote an account of what he saw and heard there in answer to the request of his colleagues. From internal evidence it is clear that he was a cleric of high rank and a man of culture. The accepted opinion is that he was an Englishman who wrote in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

It is apparent on reading Gregory's book that he describes in great part what he actually saw or heard from the best authorities in Rome. The *Mirabilia* had little or no influence on his account in spite of the fact that he incorporates some of the same local legends. The only written source which is clearly distinguishable is the *De septem miraculis mundi* attributed to Bede.

Gregory opens the *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Rome* with a personal note of wonder and stupefaction at the sight of the whole city first seen from a distance; its incredible beauty causes him to give thanks to God and to quote the first two lines of Hildebert's elegy concerning the incomparable character of the city even though in ruins. After naming the gates, Gregory describes, with a few irrelevant interpolations, the principal surviving works of ancient sculpture in bronze and marble, some of which can be identified among those still

XXXII (1917), 531 ff. A more recent edition with slight changes and with a much more extensive commentary was published by G. McN. Rushforth, "Magister Gregorius de mirabilibus urbis Romae: A New Description of Rome in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Roman Studies*, IX (1919), 14 ff. The latter edition will be quoted here.

remaining. He then considers in some detail ancient buildings, mostly "palaces," many of which cannot be identified with certainty. The triumphal arches and columns next discussed are also difficult to identify. The concluding category consists of burial pyramids and obelisks, some of which are recognizable. The manuscript stops rather than ends; a part is probably lacking.

The treatise is not without limitations, as Rushforth points out.⁵³ Gregory has a poor sense of locality, he is unable to read and understand the inscriptions which he encounters, and he includes a considerable legendary element. Despite these deficiencies, however, the work is outstanding for the secular, realistic, and antiquarian nature of his interest in the monuments and particularly in the works of art in Rome. Gregory could never be mistaken for a pilgrim; he speaks of their foolish tales with scorn.⁵⁴ Nor is he a very devout Christian so far as his interest in ecclesiastical Rome is concerned. Out of the hundreds of Roman churches he names only three, the Lateran and St. Peter's incidentally, and St. Maria Rotonda because of its original form as a pagan temple, the Pantheon. As a true antiquarian he expresses or implies resentment at the iconoclasm of the early Christians, which was thought to be responsible for much destruction. He refers three times and almost with hostility to the supposed destruction of statues by Gregory the Great.⁵⁵ The same tone is apparent in his comment on the Temple of Minerva, "once beautiful but torn down by the great efforts of the Christians,"⁵⁶ and on the "palace of Augustus" used as a source of material for Roman churches.⁵⁷ He has nothing but scorn for the greedy Romans who despoil their own treasures, though he mistakenly attributes the robbery of the

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15 f.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. 4, p. 46.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, cap. 4, p. 46; cap. 6, p. 49; and cap. 12, p. 51.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. 16, p. 52.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, cap. 17, p. 52.

gilded tiles from the Pantheon to them⁵⁸ instead of to the Emperor Constans II in 663.

The most striking characteristic of Gregory's comments, however, is the directness of his response to the antiquities of Rome. Like many a traveler before him, he is struck with wonder and awe at these marvels, but his powers of observation are not submerged by such sentiments; he is able to make concrete statements about what he sees and what he likes in particular. This attitude can be seen in numerous instances; only the most notable can be mentioned here. The "palace" (baths) of Diocletian awakens his admiration. He feels incapable of describing its vastness, its skilful and wonderful construction; its size was so great that he was unable to see all of it in the greater part of one day. He found the columns so high that he could not throw a pebble up to the capitals; about these columns he learned from the cardinals that a hundred men could scarcely prepare them in a year.⁵⁹ Of the Pantheon he admires especially the spacious portico supported by many marble columns of great height. In front of it he notes the vessels and vases of porphyry, the lions and other statues of the same marble. He measures the width of the edifice and finds it to be two hundred and sixty-six feet.⁶⁰

The same directness of perception combined with notable aesthetic feeling is seen in his attitude toward the works of art. Concerning the parts of the "Coloseus" (the bronze head and hand now in the Conservatori), he says that the human head and hand have no beauty which is lacking in these. He marvels how the "molten art" imitates the soft hair in rigid bronze. If one looks at the statue attentively, it seems about to move and to speak. It is said that no statue in the city was made with such great care or at such expense.⁶¹ Of all the

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, cap. 21, p. 53.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, cap. 21, p. 53.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, cap. 15, p. 52.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, cap. 6, pp. 48 f.

statues, however, one of Venus made the deepest impression on Gregory.

Now in truth I may say a few things about the marble statues, almost all of which were either disfigured or destroyed by St. Gregory. First I shall speak of one in particular on account of its appearance of exceeding beauty. This statue, dedicated by the Romans to Venus, was in that form in which, according to the legend, Venus together with Juno and Pallas is said to have shown herself nude to Paris in audacious examination. . . . This statue of Parian marble was executed with such marvelous and inexplicable skill that it seems rather a living creature than a statue; for like one blushing it bears its nudity, the form suffused with reddish color. And to the close observer the blood seems to move in the snowy face of the image. Now this statue, on account of its wonderful beauty and some magical power of persuasion, I was three times constrained to go back to see although it was two *stadia* distant from my hostelry.⁶²

The evidence considered above seems to prove conclusively the existence in the twelfth century of certain attitudes toward the monumental remains of antiquity which may be characterized broadly as humanistic. Both aesthetic appreciation, particularly of ancient statues, and historical understanding of monuments and ruins are clearly evinced, though in some cases partly obscured or blurred by fanciful and superstitious ideas. It is not surprising that the ruins of Rome, the center of Christendom as well as the capital of the former empire, should have attracted attention throughout the Middle Ages and become objects of comment especially to the strangers who flocked to her gates. Other monuments and *objets d'art*, however, scattered throughout the rest of Italy and northern Europe, were also noted from time to time and not always from utilitarian or superstitious considerations. The whole body of evidence thus leads us to reject as erroneous or at least greatly to modify the prevailing

⁶² *Ibid.*, cap. 12, p. 51. Rushforth (*ibid.*, p. 25) believes this may possibly have been the Capitoline Venus which might have been discovered in the twelfth century and then reburied. Bezold (*op. cit.*, p. 51) thinks it unlikely that such a frankly pagan work of art would have been publicly displayed in Rome at this time; it must have been privately owned and exhibited only to a select few.

conception of the completely unenlightened character of the medieval attitude toward antiquities.

Although the instances of medieval humanistic interest in antiquities are admittedly rare, their existence is worth noting not only for their intrinsic significance but also because of the ray of light which they throw on another aspect of the relationship between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Like certain other humanistic activities, the antiquarian and archeological pursuits of the Renaissance seem to be not entirely new but merely more highly developed and conscious manifestations of earlier, more obscure tendencies.

BERNWARD OF HILDESHEIM

*

F. J. TSCHAN

FROM the fickleness of human nature not even artistic standards are secure. Definite and final though they may be to one generation and, therefore, thought of as timeless, judgments about artistic merit must vary with the temperament of the times. Fortunately the changes in artistic taste are not comparable to men's whimsies in other fields of lesser moment. Critical examination has over the long span of years mined the ore from the changing artistic standards and rejected the slag of the fads and follies of a shorter day. To say the obvious, these standards have a high degree of permanency, dip and rise giddily though they may at particular periods.

Not a century ago men lingered in admiration before the works of the masters of the Renaissance and passed by in contempt the efforts of medieval men. Of Bernward's reliefs on the bronze doors a German art critic in 1825 could observe only that they betrayed an age "des allerungebildetsten Geschmackes, wenn der Verfall der Wissenschaften und namentlich der bildenden Künste in der äussersten Ungelegenigkeit und Geschmacklosigkeit bestand."¹ A generation later, in 1861, a French critic, Adolph Napoleon Didron, thought of Bernward's candlesticks in terms of "l'art-crapaud qui a déshonoré les galeries du Louvre pendant quelques années, art qui venait du Mexique."² Half a century later (1905), however, a contributor to Michel's monumental *His-*

¹ Liebermann, *Der Katholik*, XVII, Beilage VII (1825), v-viii.

² *Annales par Didron*, XXI (1861), 358-61.

toire de l'art, saw in Bernward's work "la puissance et l'efficacité d'action ... grâce auquel cette école [Hildesheim] prit naissance."³

There is no reason to wonder, then, that few of Bernward's creations remain. Apart from those that must have been destroyed when his cathedral was consumed by fire in January, 1013,⁴ and others that met destruction in the period of religious revolution and war, many were scattered. Bearing no marks which positively connect them with Bernward's workshops, they may now be considered only "ascribed works." Nearly all that are surely Bernwardian bear the marks of time and neglect, if not of actual abuse, from generations that preferred other forms of artistic expression. Thus, the *corona magna* which according to tradition Bernward began but did not live to finish and which his fourth successor, Hezilo (1054-79), completed, was desecrated by the reformers, battered by the Swedes in the Thirty Years' War, and not restored until 1818. The *Christussäule* was thrown down by the reformers and twice almost sold to junk dealers by the city fathers before it was set up in the cathedral plaza in 1810, there to suffer from wind and weather for eighty-three years. The monastic church, dedicated to St. Michael, for which Bernward fashioned many of his creations, was struck by lightning and destroyed by fire in 1033. Slowly rebuilt, somewhat in accord with Bernward's plans, it served the Evangelical Protestants from 1543 to 1826, when it was secularized. St. Michael's monastery was turned into a lunatic asylum, and the church was attached to the institution as a recreation hall. Until 1855 the feeble-minded of Hildesheim bowled in its nave. Then the edifice was restored to the service of religion, the main portion to the Protestants, and the crypt

³ (Paris, 1905), *Ib.*, 751.

⁴ *Annales Hildesheimenses* (an. 1013) (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, ed. G. Waitz [Hanover, 1878]).

below, where Bernward rested until the reformers scattered his remains in 1546, to the Catholics.⁵

Bernward, now justly celebrated by the Germans, was born probably in eastern Saxony about 960⁶—a land thoroughly Germanic, barely a century and a half removed from the days of heroic resistance to the emperor Charles and the antique culture and Christian religion for which he stood. Little is known of Bernward's parents. Tradition and conjecture connect his father's family with the counts of Sommerschenburg, of Ballensleve and Ringelem, and of the Leinegau.⁷ The boy was left an orphan, and his care fell to the maternal side of the family. His mother's father, Athelbero, count palatine of Saxony and a not insignificant political figure, appears, as guardian, to have been unusually dutiful and won the boy's grateful affection. Bernward had an older brother, Tamno, who served Otto III in his wars against the Romans, and possibly three sisters, one of whom entered the religious life.⁸ The family of Athelbero, too, was devout, the daughters entering convents and a son, Volkmar, becoming bishop of Utrecht.⁹

Not only his environment but also the position of his older brother, already in civil life, marked Bernward according to custom for the priesthood. His uncle, Volkmar, then a deacon in the church at Hildesheim, presented him to the

⁵ J. M. Kratz, *Der Dom zu Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1840), II, 24 ff.

⁶ Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, Book IV, chap. ii (*SSrG*, ed. F. Kurze [Hanover, 1889]); Thangmar, *Vita Bernwardi episcopi*, chap. i (*MGH SS*, IV, 758–82). [Subsequent references are made simply to Thietmar, with book and chapter, and to Thangmar, with chapter, without citing the pages of these editions.]

⁷ Kratz (*op. cit.*, III, 2, n. 2), argues for the Sommerschenburg origin, which H. A. Lüntzel (*Geschichte der Diözese und Stadt Hildesheim* [Hildesheim, 1858], I, 131–32 and notes) rejects. Lüntzel cautiously suggests that one may think of Berno, count in the Leinegau in 973 and probably holder of the mark of Duderstadt in 974, who died in 985, as Bernward's father. There is much weight to the arguments for the Sommerschenburg origin.

⁸ Lüntzel (*op. cit.*, I, 134, n. 3) prints a table of relationships.

⁹ Thangmar, chap. i.

bishop, Othwin,¹⁰ some time before 977. And Othwin committed him to the charge of Thangmar, the master and librarian of the cathedral school and the diocesan notary. In those days the Hildesheim see and school were not without reputation in Germany. Although earlier connected ecclesiastically and culturally with Reims, the bishopric had fallen in with the monastic spirit and culture emanating from the old Bonifacian center at Fulda, from Corvey in Westphalia which had been founded from Corbie in Picardy, and from Reichenau on an island in the Lake of Constance, on the way from Italy to Germany. Altfrid, the fourth bishop (847-74), who had been a disciple of Hrabanus Maurus, rebuilt the cathedral and placed its clerics under the Benedictine discipline, an ordering of their life which was to affect profoundly the character of the cathedral school. A later bishop, Wigbert, probably a monk from Corvey, was a classical scholar. Two other bishops had furthered the metal arts, adorning the cathedral Altfrid had built.¹¹ Reichenau with its art tradition and its fame for the scholarship of Walafrid Strabo came with Othwin into the higher life of Hildesheim. This bishop enjoyed the favor of Otto I and was with him in Italy in the memorable year 962. At Pavia the bishop purloined the body of St. Epiphanius for his cathedral city, of which exploit an account, probably penned by the school-master Thangmar, remains. More honorable was Othwin's interest in art and in the school. He furthered gold and art metal work and secured for Hildesheim so many books from Italy and through his German connections that the cathedral school thereafter could make rapid progress.¹²

Under Thangmar's tutelage the young Bernward developed rapidly. It was the master's custom to take the boy

¹⁰ Thangmar mistakes Othwin for Osdag.

¹¹ For the history of the early bishops of Hildesheim see Lüntzel, *op. cit.*, I, 10-51; A. Bertram, *Geschichte des Bistums Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1889-1925).

¹² *Translatio S. Epiphanii*, chap. i; *Acta SS. Boll.*, January 21, p. 378.

with him on the journeys which he made from time to time for his bishop, so that, as Thangmar says, "I might with him alone, apart from others, more precisely and more attentively study his genius, which in a multitude of scholars I could not set off by itself and test at will." As they rode along, the two would discuss lessons, now in prose, now in verse, often also "perspiring with syllogistic discourse." "And," continues Thangmar, "consumed though Bernward was by a most lively interest in every liberal science, he nevertheless made a study of the lighter arts which they call mechanical." In other words Bernward learned to copy manuscripts, paint, work in the metals, set precious stones, and build.¹³ Who were his teachers in these "lighter" or "mechanical arts" Thangmar does not say. Bernward must also have acquired some knowledge of the art of healing,¹⁴ and he certainly learned well the ways of episcopal business and the management of properties.

From Hildesheim Bernward went to Mainz for his theological studies. Willigis, who had risen from obscure poverty to the chief see of Germany and the imperial chancellorship, was then entering upon his career as an enthusiastic builder of great churches and a zealous promoter of the arts. It may have been through Athelbero's position in life or through his own ability that Bernward attracted the attention of the archbishop, who presently ordained him to the priesthood and secured for him a post in the royal chapel. Although in the Saxon period the royal chapel was esteemed a seminary for bishops, Bernward postponed going to court, loyally preferring to serve Athelbero in his declining years. Apparently the young cleric traveled not a little in this period, visiting several times in Utrecht, of which city his uncle Volkmar had

¹³ Thangmar, chap. i.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. xxxvi. Thietmar, VII, x (VI, xlv), tells how Archbishop Walthard of Magdeburg asked Bernward to come to him "causa benedictionis et, [quam] bene sciebat, curationis gratia."

become bishop. The Rhineland then was an important center for the arts and for the Lotharingian reform movement to which Cluny was related. Volkmar offered Bernward the headship of a monastery at Deventer, but he wisely as well as dutifully declined the preferment.¹⁵

When at length Athelbero died in 987, Bernward entered the service of the royal chapel. At court he could build upon his schooling at Hildesheim and Mainz, since the Ottonian *Hof* was unmatched in Europe for cultural activity. Artists and scholars as well as statesmen frequented the old Carolingian *Pfalz* at Nymwegen in which Theophanu, the Byzantine empress of Otto II and mother of Otto III, delighted to stay while she ruled the empire for her son. Works of art of many kinds and styles and from many lands and periods were at hand for Bernward to study closely. There was also opportunity for travel and, therefore, for observation. The young priest apparently was affable and tactful as his many and lasting friendships indicate. Theophanu appointed Bernward tutor for Otto III,¹⁶ and he held the monarch's respect and confidence to the end.¹⁷ Withal Bernward was religious, not comfortably but ascetically so, perhaps a trifle over imbued with the spirit of the Lotharingian reform movement and consequently not entirely acceptable to some at court. Nevertheless, when word came that Gerdag, bishop of Hildesheim, had died at Como as he was returning from a pilgrim-

¹⁵ Thangmar, chap. ii.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, chaps. ii and iii. Bernward has been incorrectly connected with the chancery. K. F. Stumpf (Stumpf-Brentano), *Die Reichskanzler vornehmlich des X. XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts* (Innsbruck, 1865-83), II, 75 ff., does not mention him.

¹⁷ On presenting the Burg Dalehem to Bernward, the emperor commended him as the "parentum nostrorum alumnus, nostrarumque cunabularum primus socius nostrique antiqui et adhuc non cessantis laboris testis semper fidelis nec nostre puericiae ac iuventutis tam affabilis multimode literationis informator, quia nostre rei publicae statum nostrumque vivere et imperare per longa terrarum spacia visitare non piguit." K. Janicke, *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe* ("Publicationen aus den kl. preussischen Staatsarchiven," LXV [Leipzig, 1896]), I, No. 42.

age to Rome, Bernward was named his successor. On the fifteenth of January, 993, Willigis consecrated him bishop of Hildesheim.¹⁸

In Bernward's years as bishop, 993-1022, Germany counted great prelates: the policy of Otto I, making churchmen the bulwark of the crown against the ambitious feudality of the realm, was still serving its purposes well. Bishops, indeed, were men of worldly affairs, but with few exceptions they were men zealous also in their spiritual offices. The days of lordly feudal prelates, almost wholly absorbed in the secular affairs of the land and in securing worldly advantages for their bishoprics, were only beginning in Bernward's time.¹⁹

His role in public affairs was neither unimportant nor prominent. Like his predecessors in the see of Hildesheim Bernward enjoyed the favor of his sovereigns. As tutor he had been the intimate of Otto III. Then, too, Bernward's elder brother, Tamno, was one of the emperor's most valiant and trusted advisers. Nevertheless, Bernward cannot be said to have shared Otto's views for the restoration of the Augustan empire, of making Rome and not Germany the fulcrum of his authority. When in the interests of his see Bernward went to Rome, Otto met him at the city gates, afforded him generous hospitality, and supported him in every detail of his business. But Bernward stayed no longer than was necessary—about six weeks. Artist though he was, Bernward as bishop was a practical man of affairs. Since the Northmen had harried the Frisian coast in 991 and, sailing up the Elbe and Weser, had devastated Saxony, he built two forts to check any future advances into his diocesan territory.²⁰ He

¹⁸ Thangmar, chap. iv; Thietmar, IV, ix (vii); *Ann. Hild.* (ann. 992 and 993).

¹⁹ Cf. E. N. Johnson, *The Secular Activities of the German Episcopate, 919-1024* ("University of Nebraska Studies," Vols. XXX-XXXI [Lincoln, 1932]).

²⁰ *Ann. Hild.* (ann. 990-93, 995); *Annales Quedlinburgenses* (ann. 994 and 995) (MGH SS, III); Thietmar, IV, xix (xii); Thangmar, chap. vii.

also fortified the episcopal city.²¹ On more than one occasion he curbed the perennially restless Slavs.²² Of these activities Otto III approved, granting him privileges and deeds to properties which substantially enriched his see.²³

Under Otto's successor, Henry II, Bernward continued to serve the crown loyally.²⁴ With that king he had much in common. Indeed, no churchman of discretion could have found much fault with Henry's pursuit of Otto's episcopal policy or, on selfish grounds, opposed his determined correction of abuses. Bernward, according to the records, attended Henry's diets and supported him in his reform measures.²⁵ As a crown vassal he proceeded in 1007 with the emperor against the ambitious Baldwin, count of Flanders. After the rebellion was crushed, Bernward, with Henry's permission, made a pilgrimage to the shrines of St. Denis near Paris and of St. Martin at Tours. At Paris the Capetian king, Robert, entertained him, but again Bernward's stay with royalty was short. In October he rejoined Henry at Aachen, and together they journeyed to Frankfurt.²⁶

²¹ Thangmar, chaps. viii and xxvii.

²² *Ann. Hild.* (ann. 987, 990-93, 995, 999); *Ann. Qued.* (ann. 994 and 995); Thietmar, IV, xix (xii), xxi (xiv), xxix (xx); *Annalista Saxo* (an. 997) (*MGH SS*, VI, 641). As late as 1020 Bernward exhorted his people to pray that they be spared hostile visitations (*MGH LL*, II, 172).

²³ Bernward received more royal grants than all the bishops of Hildesheim before him and more than any one bishop after him—thirteen from Otto III and seventeen from Henry II. Some of the latter's grants were confirmations of the deeds the originals of which had been destroyed in the cathedral fire of 1013. About 630 genuine grants are known to have been made in the period of Otto III and Henry II.

²⁴ Bernward for some reason opposed Henry II's election, but in doing so he acted within his rights and incidentally showed his Saxon independence of mind. He was present at the gathering of the Saxon magnates at Merseburg, July 25, 1002, when they ratified Henry's election, and he thereafter adhered to the emperor. Thangmar, chap. xxxviii; Thietmar, V, iv (iii), xi (vii), xv-xvii (ix), xviii (x); S. Hirsch, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich II* (Berlin, 1862-75), I, 222.

²⁵ Thietmar, VI, xviii (xiii); J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), p. 644; Hirsch, *op. cit.*, II, 407; III, 111, 213, 346-48; H. A. Lüntzel, *Die ältere Stadt Hildesheim*, pp. 349-61; Janicke, *op. cit.*, I, Nos. 50 and 57.

²⁶ Thangmar, chap. xli; Thietmar, VI, xxix (xxii).

Hurried as this expedition or pilgrimage necessarily was, much significance attaches to it. St. Martin was in a sense the patron of the monastic reform movement of which Bernward was a champion. On his return to Hildesheim he built a chapel in honor of St. Martin and in it deposited some of the relics which he had received in France.²⁷ Bernward's art, too, gained from this excursion. At Aachen he must have become familiar with the works which Charles the Great had sponsored and must have seen, too, the paintings with which the Greek artist, John, had decorated the *Pfalzkapelle* by the order of Otto III. Bernward's route from Aachen to Frankfort or from Frankfort home to Hildesheim undoubtedly lay through Mainz, where he very probably received the inspiration for his own portals from the bronze doors cast by Willigis for his cathedral. This visit to Mainz by Bernward was probably the first in several years, for Willigis and he had been estranged.

Strained relations between the two bishops had arisen through a dispute over the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gandersheim, the monastery now famed for having harbored Hroswitha, the first writer of drama since Roman times. Gandersheim had been founded in 852 at Brunshausen by Liudolph and Ida, the grandparents of King Henry I, the Fowler. Four years later the convent was moved some distance southward to the banks of a small stream called the Gande in the thick of a deep forest of oaks. Brunshausen was certainly within the limits of the diocese of Hildesheim. The new site on the Gande was doubtfully so, but the bishops of Hildesheim continued to exercise jurisdiction over the institution. No one questioned their rights until the royal princess Sophia, daughter of Otto II and Theophanu, entered the convent, quickly rose to authority and presently to abbatial position. Gandersheim, from its beginnings richly endowed and prudently managed by a succession of capable abbesses,

²⁷ Thangmar, chap. liii.

all closely connected with the reigning house, was predisposed to lapse into that laxity in the spiritual life which gave rise to the Lotharingian reform movement.²⁸ Sophia certainly interpreted her vows broadly; in any event she did not think it incompatible with her religious profession to spend long periods at court. There the ascetic Bernward must have given her offense, if not actual reproof, for her unmonastic conduct.²⁹

Before Bernward became bishop of Hildesheim, however, Sophia had caused trouble. When in 988 she entered Gandersheim, she would not have a mere bishop give her the veil but invited Willigis to hide her modestly from the world. Willigis officiated on the occasion; Osdag, then bishop of Hildesheim, although he could not object, knew tactfully how to place his episcopal throne where it would silently declare the rights of his see over the convent.³⁰ When Bernward was bishop, the occasion for strife was the blessing of the great church which the abbey had built. The date set for its consecration was September 14, 1000, and Sophia announced that Willigis, not Bernward, was to be the consecrating prelate. The bishop of Hildesheim plainly was in danger of losing an important religious foundation. His duty to hold it for his see was not less plain. He protested, and the consecration was postponed a week. Willigis, committed to Sophia's policies and not unduly reluctant to advance his metropolitan authority, now proceeded formally to annex Gandersheim to the archdiocese of Mainz but did not venture upon the consecration of the

²⁸ Thangmar, chaps. xii-xv; *Vita S. Godehardi*, I, chaps. xix-xx (in *MGH SS*, IX, 167-96); *Vita Hathumodae* (*MGH SS*, IV, 166 ff.).

²⁹ Thangmar, chaps. xiv-xvi; *Vita God.*, I, chap. xxi.

³⁰ Thangmar, in whose estimation there was but one side to the controversy, Bernward's, calls Osdag, *simplicis animi vir* (chap. xiii). On the historical worth of Thangmar's *Vita Bernwardi*, see C. Beelte, *Thangmar, sein Leben und Beurteilung seiner Vita Bernwardi* ("Programm des Gymn. Joseph. in Hildesheim" [Hildesheim, 1881]). Cf. H. Böhmer, *Willigis von Mainz: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Reichs und der deutschen Kirche in der sächsischen Kaiserzeit* ("Leipziger Studien aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte" [Leipzig, 1895]), pp. 87-105.

church. Rebuffed, even insulted by the nuns, Bernward determined to carry his case to Rome, to plead his cause in person with his pupil, Otto III, and the pope, the great Gerbert, Sylvester II.³¹

Bernward was not well when he bade his clergy farewell in Hildesheim, November 2, 1000, and set out on his way over the Alps into Italy. On his arrival at Rome, January 4, Otto III, as has been noted, came out to meet him and lodged him near his own palace on the Aventine. In the papal-imperial councils that followed Bernward was sustained on every point of the controversy, but the commandments of the two high powers fell short of enforcement. The Gandersheim dispute illustrates well the impotence of both pope and emperor. Sylvester himself, as Gerbert, had once defied papal authority. Otto III's imperial dreaming had cost him the respect and obedience of his German subjects. The quarrel lingered on, outliving both emperor and pope and causing deplorable strife.³²

But Sophia's church also stood unconsecrated until Henry II, with characteristic tact, persuaded the two hierarchs to let him arbitrate the matter. The emperor announced then that on Sunday, the vigil of the Epiphany, 1007, the great church of Gandersheim would be consecrated. At that time he would give his decision. The fame of the church and the notoriety of the controversy to which it had given rise brought many notables to Gandersheim. There Henry gave judgment in favor of Hildesheim. Willigis and Bernward were reconciled.³³ Sophia for a while was outwardly well behaved—until 1021, when Mainz again had an ambitious prelate. Bernward and Henry, however, still lived and promptly reminded both

³¹ Thangmar, chaps. xvi-xviii; *Vita God.*, I, chap. xxi.

³² Thangmar, chaps. xix ff.; *Vita God.*, I, chaps. xxii and xxiii; *Ann. Hild.* (ann. 1001 and 1002).

³³ Thangmar, chap. xliii; *Vita God.*, I, chap. xxiv; *Ann. Hild.* (an. 1007).

archbishop and abbess of the finality of the settlement made in 1007.³⁴

Interesting as this dispute is both in political and in legal history, its present importance lies in the fact that it reflects Bernward's religious zeal and was the occasion for his visit to Rome. There much else must have impressed him besides the reliefs on the doors of St. Sabina's Church and Trajan's column, both directly reflected in his art work. For Rome in the millennial year was still a city of charm, despite the scars left by the visitations of barbarians and Mohammedans, the debauchery and baseness of her heterogeneous citizenry, the ruin of her classical monuments, and the wreckage of her merchant houses and wharves. Shrunken even within the limits of Aurelian's wall—itsself marking the shadow limits of her Silver Age and hemming pasture lands studded with the ruins of the city blocks of the Golden Age—Christian Rome in all her desolation was lovely in her imperishability. The chiming of her church bells was all the more moving for their telling that amid all the ruin men still lived and worked and prayed.³⁵ For Bernward, now about forty, old enough to understand and to appreciate what he saw, the antique, commingled with the additions of later times, became a vitalizing force in building up the culture and the art of his own land and times. After six weeks in the city—his business finished—he turned northward, visiting Pavia and Vercelli. By way of the Great St. Bernard Pass he came to Martigny and St. Maurice in the Valais, where he met Rudolph III, king of Burgundy. St. Maurice and Basel, where he no doubt also stopped, were then famous centers of the goldsmith's art. Home at Hildesheim once more, he girded his city with a wall which contemporaries praised as the loveliest in Saxony. Into

³⁴ Thangmar, chaps. xlv and xlviii; *Vita God.*, I, chap. xxv.

³⁵ Thompson students will see in these lines an attempt to adapt his picturing of Rome in the year of Bernward's visit.

it Bernward doubtless introduced features that he had noted in the walls of the southland.

That same year, 1001, he began building the church attached to the monastery in which his conception of the proper religious life would find realization.³⁶ On a hill outside the walls of the old city, where according to tradition a shrine of Wotan had once stood, Bernward placed his church and, therefore, fitly dedicated it to St. Michael, the leader of the heavenly host against the powers of darkness. Upon this church he lavished his personal wealth³⁷ and artistic talents. To chant the divine office in its choir he brought from St. Pantaleon's in Cologne monks noted for their perfect adherence to the Benedictine discipline.³⁸

About Bernward's art works Thangmar, now confidant and aide, has little to say in the biography he wrote of his pupil-bishop. If the buildings Bernward erected are excepted, Thangmar refers directly, but in a general way, only three times to those productions and nowhere to his masterpieces, the doors and the column. In the fifth chapter the biographer tells of Bernward's visits to the shops as part of his day's routine as bishop. In the next chapter he tells of Bernward's zeal about the *scriptoria* whereby "he brought together a copious library of both theological and philosophical codices."³⁹ This zeal was intensified by the losses he must have suffered in the fire which destroyed the cathedral in 1013, as well as by the multiplication of churches in the rural parts of the diocese. How many books were copied cannot even be estimated; only three gospel books, a Bible, and a sacramentary that are indisputably the products of Bern-

³⁶ Thangmar, chap. xlvi; Kratz, *op. cit.*, III, 32, n. 61.

³⁷ The endowment is variously stated, but it certainly included 466 hides, 10 tithes, 10 mills, 13 churches and other properties in and about Hildesheim (Thangmar, chap. li; Kratz, *op. cit.*, III, 33-34; Lüntzel, *Die ältere Stadt Hildesheim*, p. 85; Janicke, *op. cit.*, I, Nos. 62 and 67).

³⁸ Thangmar, chap. l.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, chaps. viii ff.

ward's *scriptoria* are extant. Both the script and the decorative work in these books indicate that Bernward maintained a group of scriptorial artists, but of them only one, Guntbald, is known.⁴⁰ Very evident in their work is the influence of the school which flourished at Regensburg and perhaps also of that at St. Gall. Imitative of the Carolingian style as it developed in southern Germany though Bernward's artists were, some of their miniatures suggest their love for the scenery about Hildesheim, a country of hills and valleys richly wooded and refreshed with abundant streams. Bernward also had the walls and ceiling of the cathedral so exquisitely and splendidly decorated that Thangmar says "one would think a new church had been made of the old."⁴¹ Whether Bernward did this in the course of a refurbishing or by painting a cycle of pictures—a favorite practice of the period—cannot be determined.

Bernward's reputation in art rests, however, not so much on the excellence of his codices and mural decorations as on his work in the precious metals and in the setting of gems. "Whatever he could think out that was very elegant in crafts of this kind," writes Thangmar, "he never allowed to be neglected."⁴² For the solemn processions on the great feasts of the church

he made gospel books resplendent with gold and gems; also censers of extraordinary value and weight, as well as chalices, one of which he fashioned with wonderful industry of onychin,⁴³ another of crystal. He furthermore produced a golden chalice, weighing twenty pounds public weight, of the purest gold for the use of the ministry.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ S. Beissel, *Der heilige Bernward von Hildesheim: Künstler und Förderer der deutschen Kunst* (Hildesheim, 1895), pp. 27–28.

⁴¹ Chap. viii.

⁴² Chap. vi.

⁴³ *Onichinum*, not onyx, as is often supposed, but a rare glass flux. W. Wattenbach in H. Hüffer (trans.), *Lebensbeschreibungen der Bischöfe Bernward und Godehard von Hildesheim* ("Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit" [Leipzig, 1892]), XI, Part II, 15, n. 1.

⁴⁴ Thangmar, chap. viii.

Notable also are the True Cross reliquary, a silver crucifix, and a paten or communion bowl. Early in his pontificate Otto III presented Bernward with a particle of the True Cross.⁴⁵ To contain this relic Bernward fashioned a Latin cross, of wood, the forepart and sides of which were overdrawn with gold plate. Upon this covering, laid out in rectangles, he mounted five lunate crystals, each set in a gold band incrusting from eighteen to twenty pearls. In the spaces not occupied by these crystals, gems sparkled and pearl-studded golden threads wandered in carefully designed curves and spirals. This reliquary, now despoiled of its glory, was executed early in his pontificate, since it must have been finished in 996, the time of the consecration of the chapel which he built to house it.⁴⁶ The silver crucifix,⁴⁷ standing little more than eight inches above the Gothic base with which it was later provided, is praised by critics for its refined use of *niello* no less than for the naturalism attained by the artist. The head at the intersection of the beams leans much to the left and downward, and the trend of the delicately modeled *corpus* accentuates the movement suggested by the head, giving as a whole the impression that Bernward's purpose had been either to show the Savior just as death came or straining to hear the last comfortings his mother was offering as she stood at the foot of the cross. The paten, of which no description is necessary, was secured in 1930 by the Cleveland Museum of Art from the Guelph collection, into which it had passed. This work was, at the time of its purchase, hailed by American art critics as "one of the finest pieces of Romanesque silver work known to the world."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, chaps. viii and ix. For detailed descriptions see Kratz, *op. cit.*, II, 26-31; Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁶ When St. Michael's Church was finished, the reliquary was transferred to it. The chapel was rededicated to St. Lambert and placed under the jurisdiction of the abbot of the monastery (Kratz, *op. cit.*, III, 35, n. 72).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 36-37; Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁸ Kratz, *op. cit.*, II, 37-46; Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19, who also describes the chalice. Cf. *New York Times*, August 27 and September 7, 1930.

Thangmar mentions also a "crown [of lights], radiant with silver and gold, of marvellous magnitude" which he hung "at the entrance of the temple."⁴⁹ This work no longer exists, but its glory may be visualized in the coronary candelabrum swinging in the nave of the cathedral at Hildesheim. The light-bearing crown noted earlier in this paper, over twenty feet in diameter, was conceived in the spirit of the twenty-first chapter of the Apocalypse in which John sees the "holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, enlightened by the Glory of the Lamb." On the circumferal band of iron, overlaid with gold and silver-plated copper sheeting, were holders for seventy-two lights. Precious and semiprecious stones studded the ring which was as the wall of "the city of God." In twelve towers, each about three feet high, were graven "the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb." The prophets of the Old Law and the virtues of the New also received commemoration. The first of the two inscriptions carried about the circumferal band celebrated "the new Jerusalem" and the second bore the dedication to Mary the Virgin.

When Bernward's tomb was opened in 1194, two candlesticks were found that recall the naturalism of the crucifix.⁵⁰ The stems, formed as tree trunks, are covered with a network of tendrils, leaves, and grapes, among which men and animals clamber upward from the bases ornamented with lions and nude kobolds, beings drawn from Germanic folklore. The lions and kobolds look up to the light. Above the nodes which break the length of the stems birds and angels appear, making their way toward the light. Just below the candle cups three gracefully elongated creatures stretch from the stems to the

⁴⁹ Thangmar, chap. viii; Kratz, *op. cit.*, II, 78-83; Beissel, *op. cit.*, p. 20; F. Bock, *Der Kronleuchter Kaisers Friedrich Barbarossa im karolingischen Münster zu Aachen und die formverwandten Lichterkronen zu Hildesheim und Comburg* (Leipzig, 1864).

⁵⁰ Kratz, *op. cit.*, II, 31-34; Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38. When in 1362 the tomb of Bishop Henry of Hildesheim was opened, there was found an episcopal staff which may perhaps be ascribed to Bernward.

rims of the cups, whence they gaze curiously at the light. This ancient motif, symbolizing the victory of the light of salvation over the powers of darkness, is remarkably well done. Bernward also took pride in the composition of the candlesticks. "Bernwardus presul candelabrum hoc puerum suum primo huius artis flore non auro, non argento et tamen, ut cernis, conflare iubebat." Although the reconciling of these words with the known composition of the candlesticks—some gold and silver and iron—has long baffled critics, Bernward appears in the role of an experimenter of original tastes. Little wonder, then, that there is attributed to him a work on alchemy. This volume, written for the monks of St. Michael's monastery, was lost in the course of the Thirty Years' War.

Much better known than the works so far mentioned are the bronze doors and column now in the cathedral, but originally intended for St. Michael's Church. The doors⁵¹ or two-wing door, each wing fifteen and a half feet high and three and three-fourths feet wide, are cast with reliefs in one piece. Herein Bernward again was an innovator, for, so far as can be ascertained, no one in ancient times ventured to make doors, and the reliefs designed for them, in one casting of solid bronze. The great Charles attempted only plain bronze doors for his buildings at Aachen, and Bernward's contemporary, Willigis, did not seek to outdo the emperor. Bernward's doors with reliefs were probably the result of inspiration imparted to Bernward by the metal reliefs on the cedarwood portals of the church of St. Sabina in Rome,⁵² and Willigis' paneled doors at Mainz.

On the left wing eight reliefs present the creation of Adam

⁵¹ Kratz, *op. cit.*, II, 46-59; Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-45; F. Dibelius, *Bernwardstür zu Hildesheim* ("Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte," Heft 81 [Strassburg, 1907]); H. Cuno, *Die ehernen Thürflügel am Dom zu Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1892).

⁵² A. Bertram, *Die Türen von S. Sabina in Rom, das Vorbild der Bernwardstüren* (Hildesheim, 1894).

and Eve, their fall, expulsion from Eden, their life outside the garden, and the story of Cain and Abel. On the right wing eight more reliefs present incidents in the passion and death of Christ. Evidently the theme may be stated as sin and its temporal consequences and the divine atonement. The doors were eventually so mounted in the cathedral that the men and women, worshiping in the *Paradisus*⁵³ under penance, might visualize the enormity of their misdeeds and contemplate the goodness of God in saving them from eternal death. This educational objective had in many ways determined the character of the scenes. They are simple, naturalistic, dramatic, and bespeak the folk art of the Saxon land. Considering the technical difficulties encountered in making so great a casting with reliefs, the troubles inherent in translating the pictorial art of the miniatures, from which many of the scenes are copied, into the plastic, and the fact that the canons of artistic excellence were not well determined in the early eleventh century, these monumental relief-bearing doors give testimony to the daring and originality of Bernward's genius not less than to his spiritual insight. Wholly apart from the religious significance of details in the scenes, there is manifested rare understanding of the popular mind. Although schooled in the antique, Bernward knew well how to make the native northern art his own, reconciling the two as he had in the candlesticks, and thus leading the way toward the Romanesque.

In its proportions as well as in its spiritual makeup the column⁵⁴ is monumental in the same sense as the doors. It stands, a hollow, one-piece casting, approximately fourteen feet high and two feet in diameter. About it winds eight times a spiral band of reliefs, suggestive of Trajan's column in Rome, depicting in twenty-eight scenes the public life of

⁵³ Cf. Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* x. 4.

⁵⁴ Kratz, *op. cit.*, II, 59-77; Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-50; E. O. Wiecker, *Bernwards-säule* (Hildesheim, 1874).

Christ from the baptism in the Jordan to the entry into Jerusalem celebrated on Palm Sunday. The practical purpose of the column is unknown, but, again, the educational element is present. In this column, too, Bernward may be said to have done in bronze what Hroswitha of Gandersheim sought to do in the drama. As the nun attempted to present Christian drama after the manner of Terence, the bishop tried to celebrate Christ's triumphant spiritual career, as prophet, king, and high priest in the manner in which Trajan had commemorated his mortal achievements. Like the reliefs on the doors, those on the column show that Bernward never lost sight of the need of simplicity, naturalness, and action that the people might understand and be spiritually improved. The artistic shortcomings which spring at least in part from the difficulties presented by the doors also are evident in the column. Not less, however, do they attest Bernward's original and daring genius and deep, practical spirituality. In the fusion of the native with the antique in its reliefs, the column, like the doors, looks forward masterfully toward the Romanesque.

While Bernward was occupied with these productions the great church of St. Michael the Archangel slowly rose above ground, a double transept edifice culminating⁵⁵ in pyramidal towers at the intersections, with lesser towers at the transept ends to relieve its massiveness. Within both the nave and the transepts the plan fell into rectangular spaces, three in the nave and three in each of the transepts, nine in all, calling to mind the nine angel choirs of which St. Michael was the leader. At the east end three apses were integrated with the three rectangles of the eastern transept, and in the central apse stood the altar of the Holy Cross (and near it, no doubt, the column) before which the congregation worshiped. At the west end the nave extended beyond the transept to form the

⁵⁵ Beissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-34; O. Beyse, *S. Michael zu Hildesheim: ein kunstgeschichtlicher Führer* (Hildesheim, 1923).

choir in which the monks recited their office. Below it was the crypt which Bernward blessed in 1015 and in which he was later interred. He did not live to see the church completed. Today but little of the original structure remains. From a column here and there, from old plans and models and other sources, the Bernwardian church may be visualized—magnificent in a simplicity that enabled the minor arts, which he so richly employed in its furnishings, to function with becoming effect, a sermon in its symbolism, rhythmic, presaging the age of the Romanesque in its fusion of antique and lower Saxon architectural features.

Through the years Bernward supervised the production of these art works while seeking a settlement of his quarrel with Willigis and Sophia over his rights in Gandersheim, or fending off a renewal of the controversy. As bishop his days were full. Much inclined to the order of the monastery, he continued the canonical way of life which his predecessor Altfrið, had appointed for the priests attached to the cathedral. What was required of them Bernward required more stringently of himself. Long before daybreak, when the brethren were still asleep, he was up, reading and praying. Before dawn he recited the office with the chapter and then solemnized mass. With the morning he sat in court and dispensed alms, feeding a hundred and more daily, visiting and comforting and blessing the sick and aged brethren and the unfortunate of the city. Then he made the rounds of the shops in which artists and craftsmen worked under his direction and supervision. He ate his meals with the priests of the cathedral chapter and attentively listened to the reading assigned for the day. His table was a frugal one; he ate with moderation and drank little, often not at all. While he was still a young man he surpassed his elders in the gravity of his deportment.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, he was a good host: Bishop Ekkehard of Schleswig and Bishop Benno of Oldenburg, whose sees

⁵⁶ Thangmar, chap. v.

were untenable because of frontier disturbances, spent many years with him.⁵⁷ Throughout his episcopate he was ever mindful of the cathedral school, searching out promising young men for special attention and taking them with him whenever he went on journeys that their knowledge and appreciation of learning and the arts might be broadened and deepened.

Withal Bernward never enjoyed good health. When he set out for Rome in 1000, he was sick, and that winter's journey over the Alps must have taxed his strength. Whether he, like so many other Germans, suffered further breakdown in health as a consequence of the sojourn in Italy cannot be inferred from Thangmar. Certain it is, however, that idleness did not aggravate Bernward's ailments. His strong determination and his ability to live in the spirit and in the spirituality with which he imbued his works sustained him for nearly thirty years. At length, in September, 1022, when the chapel constructed by him to house the relics which he had gathered in France and which he dedicated to St. Martin of Tours was ready for consecration, Bernward's health failed. Bishop Ekkehard of Schleswig officiated for him on the occasion. Not many weeks later Bernward requested the monks of St. Michael's to carry him into the chapel where he might take the vows of the Benedictine order and be invested in its penitential garb. Soon after, November 20, he died and was entombed in the crypt of St. Michael's Church.⁵⁸ His sarcophagus, prepared in advance under his direction, is, like his other works, rich in the symbolism of the Apocalypse and expressive of his unworthiness of reward but hopeful of God's kingdom.⁵⁹ Not for 172 years was he to be raised to the dig-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. xx; Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, I, xviii (*SSrG*, ed. I. M. Lappenberg [Hanover, 1868], p. 42).

⁵⁸ Thangmar, chaps. liii and liv.

⁵⁹ The inscription reads: "Pars hominis Bernwardus eram; nunc claudor in isto/Sarcophago diro, vilis et ecce cinis./Proh dolor, officii culmen quia non bene gessi!/Sit pia pax animae, vos et Amen canite!" (Thangmar, chap. lv). About the cover

nity of the altar, although Thangmar devoutly wrote his life and recorded the miracles wrought at his tomb. In 1192 Pope Celestine III formally recognized his sanctity and appointed his feast day in the calendar of the church November 20.⁶⁰ Then were his remains exhumed and given new sepulcher under the altar of St. Michael's. In the period of the Reformation the iconoclastic fury of the burghers desecrated and scattered his bones. In the darkness of the night the monks of his foundation furtively collected what could be found of them and preserved them in their chapel.⁶¹ So also were many of his works to fare. But a new day has dawned. Their artistic excellence, if not the deep spirituality which is its essence, is now again appreciated not only by Germans but, in refutation of the opinions of critics enslaved by the traditions of the Renaissance, by a world.

runs: "Scio enim quod Redemptor meus vivit" (Job 19:25-27) (Kratz, *op. cit.*, III, 40, n. 76.

⁶⁰ Kratz, *op. cit.*, III, 43-44. The bull of canonization was issued January 8, 1193.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45 ff.

THE LONG TRADITION: A STUDY IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MEDICAL DEONTOLOGY

*

MARY CATHERINE WELBORN

I swear by Apollo Physician, by Asclepius, by Hygeia, by Panacea and by all the gods and goddesses, making them my witnesses, that I will carry out, according to my ability and judgment, this oath and this indenture. To hold my teacher in this art equal to my own parents; to make him partner in my livelihood;—I will use treatment to help the sick according to my ability and judgment, but never with a view to injury and wrongdoing. Neither will I administer a poison to anybody when asked to do so, nor will I suggest such a course.—But I will keep pure and holy both my life and my art.—Into whatsoever houses I enter, I will enter to help the sick, and I will abstain from all intentional wrongdoing and harm, especially from abusing the bodies of man or woman, bond or free. And whatsoever I shall see or hear in the course of my profession, as well as outside my profession in my intercourse with men, if it be what should not be published abroad, I will never divulge, holding such things to be holy secrets. Now if I carry out this oath, and break it not, may I gain for ever reputation among all men for my life and for my art; but if I transgress it and forswear myself, may the opposite befall me.—HIPPOCRATIC OATH.²

THE medieval physician, although he lacked skill and knowledge in the art and practice of medicine, in his humanity toward his patients and his desire to do the utmost to help them, was equal to the best of our medical men today. These high ideals were held not by a few of these early doctors only but were the code of the profession. Now laws are made, usually at the instigation of the physicians themselves, and are enforced by the courts to curb as far as possible unethical practices, although many vitally important

² For a discussion of this oath see W. H. S. Jones, *The Doctor's Oath* (Cambridge, 1924).

problems are still left to the judgment of the individual physician. But in the Middle Ages there were merely rules and regulations made either by physicians who passed them on to their university and private students, or by groups of doctors in universities or guilds,² sometimes with and sometimes without the sanction of the city or state governments.³ The main sources for the ethical ideas of the ancient and medieval periods are those chapters devoted primarily to medical deontology which are so often found in the general writings of physicians and surgeons, especially in the later Middle Ages.

By examining some of the principal works of representative doctors of the fourteenth century, we can come to certain definite conclusions concerning the rise and development of contemporary medical ethics and, what is more precious, to a better understanding of the fourteenth-century doctor, who has been so reviled by famous writers like Petrarch⁴ and by other humanists. The deontological chapters reveal the true nature of the physician and show us the real man—a vital, intelligent human being who, despite his woeful lack of scientific knowledge, in many cases was honestly trying to do his best both for the sake of humanity and for the love of his art. It is true that many quacks and charlatans existed in that century, as well as in our own, who neither preached nor practiced in an ethical manner, but we have no right to condemn in a wholesale way, as did Petrarch, all doctors on account of the errors of some of their profession. Modern

² David Riesman, *The Story of Medicine in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1935), pp. 226–32.

³ Frederick II issued in 1241 a statute, *De medicis*, to regulate the manners and fees of medical men (see J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi* [Paris, 1854], IV, Part I, 235).

⁴ Petrarch, *Contra medicum, Opera* (Basel, 1581), pp. 1087–1131. For a discussion of Petrarch's remarks see A. W. E. T. Henschel, "Petrarcas Urtheil über die Medicin und die Aerzte seiner Zeit," *Janus*, I (1846), 183–223. For the remarks of one of his predecessors see John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, Book II, chap xxix; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXCIX, 475–76.

critics have been too prone to ignore these ethical sections of the medical works and to spend all their time criticizing the information, or lack of it, displayed in other parts of these writings, thus giving us a more or less one-sided picture of the medieval doctor.

The medical works of the fourteenth century present an especially interesting basis for the study of the development of ethical ideas because they are the first since classical times to contain lengthy and detailed chapters on this subject.⁵ These doctors were no longer so inhibited from expressing their own ideas as were the scholastic writers of an earlier century. They were constantly receiving more and better translations of Greek and Arabic medical works, which were the main sources of these ideas, and thus their writings best reveal to us the historical development of the medical code of ethics.

Too often have editors of fourteenth-century medical works claimed that the men of this century had higher ethical principles than the doctors of the centuries immediately preceding. They try to make us think that this is true because of the innate superiority of these men over those of earlier times. But an examination of many of the works of this age and of preceding ones, by placing fourteenth-century writings in their true perspective, shows us why the men of this particular century have a more highly developed professional code; it shows us that their main principles were taken more or less directly from classical writings beginning primarily with the Hippocratic corpus.⁶ For even when medicine was

⁵ E.g., the *De subtilioribus cautelis medicorum* of Arnold of Villanova, although it was written as late as the latter part of the thirteenth century or the very beginning of the fourteenth (Arnold died in 1311) could not have been one of the chief sources on this subject for the fourteenth-century writers, since it deals more with prognosis than with deontology. See also the writings of Bartholomeus Anglicus, the *De corpore humano* of Giles of Corbeil, and many others.

⁶ Georg Weiss, "Die ethischen Anschauungen im Corpus Hippocraticum," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, IV (1911), 235-62.

yet in its infancy, physicians and surgeons, by their written and spoken words, began to formulate ethical precepts for their fellow-craftsmen, which were repeated by generation after generation of doctors, usually in the introductions to their writings.

A summary of the most important remarks made by these fourteenth-century doctors, as far as possible in their own words, will be used to prove the claims mentioned above. They deal with the qualifications a man must have before he can become a good physician or surgeon, his appearance, his general culture, his relation to and general treatment of his patients, his proper attitude toward other doctors, and, of great importance indeed, his fees.

According to Jan Yperman,⁷ the

doctor must be well-shapen and of a healthy and strong constitution. His outward appearance must be good, for as al-Rāzī says, an ungainly appearance is not likely to go with a good heart, and ibn Sīnā says that a fine face will probably hide a fair character. The surgeon must have shapely hands, taper fingers, and he must be strong. His fingers should not tremble and he must have keen eyesight.⁸

John of Arderne⁹ adds a little to this: "The leech should also have clean hands and well-shapen nails cleansed from all blackness and filth."¹⁰ Almost identical descriptions are to be found in the *Cyrurgia* of Guy de Chauliac,¹¹ and in the one by Henri de Mondeville¹²; both authors stating that they

⁷ A Flemish surgeon who died about 1330 in Ypres.

⁸ *De cyryrgie*, Book I, chap iv; ed. E. C. van Leersum (Leiden, 1912), pp. 12 ff.

⁹ An important English surgeon who lived in the last part of the fourteenth century.

¹⁰ *Treatises of Fistula in Ano . . . by John Arderne, from an Early Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Translation*, ed. D'Arcy Power ("Early English Text Society," Original Series, No. 139 [London, 1910]), p. 6.

¹¹ *La Grande chirurgie* (1363), ed. E. Nicaise (Paris, 1890). Guy was a French surgeon (died ca. 1368), the personal physician of Popes Clement VI, Innocent VI, and Urban V.

¹² A French surgeon who taught in Montpellier and Paris; died ca. 1325. His chief work, under the title *Chirurgie de maître Henri de Mondeville*, has been translated into modern French by E. Nicaise (Paris, 1893).

have copied their remarks from 'Alī ibn Ridwān's¹³ commentary on Galen's *Ars parva*.

It was not enough to be fine-looking and cleanly, but the doctor must also be very careful of his dress and deportment; otherwise he would bring contumely upon himself and his profession.

In clothes and other apparel he should be honest, and not liken himself in apparel and bearing to minstrels, but in clothing and bearing he should show the manner of clerks.¹⁴ For why?; it seemeth any discreet man clad in clerk's garb may occupy the boards of gentlemen. And be he courteous at the lord's table, and be he not displeasing in words or deeds to the guests sitting near by, hear he many things but let him speak but few. . . . And when he shall speak, let the words be short, and as far as possible, fair and reasonable and without swearing. Beware that there never be found double words in his mouth, for if he be found true in his words few or none shall doubt his deeds. . . . Be he not temerarious or boastful in his sayings or in his deeds. And above all this it shall profit him that he always be found sober; for drunkenness destroyeth all virtue and bringeth it to nought. Also let a leech neither laugh nor play too much. . . . Let him be content in strange places with the meats and drinks found there, using measure in all things. . . . Scorn he no man for it is said, "He that scorneth other men shall not go away unscored." . . . And as far as he can without harm, flee the fellowship of knaves and dishonest persons.¹⁵

Jan Yperman says about the same things, then adds:

He ought to devote himself entirely to the patients; in the latter's house he may not broach any other subject than that which concerns the treatment; neither may he chat with the mistress of the house, the daughter or the maidservant, nor look at them with leering eyes. For people are soon suspicious, and by such things he is apt to incur enmity while the doctor had better keep on friendly terms with them.¹⁶

¹³ Flourished in Cairo in the middle of the eleventh century. His commentary was translated by Gerard of Cremona. George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore, 1927), I, 729.

¹⁴ Cf. the remark of Hippocrates, "You must also avoid adopting, in order to gain a patient, luxurious headgear and elaborate perfume. For excess of strangeness will win you ill-repute but a little will be considered in good taste, . . . Yet I do not forbid your trying to please, for it is not unworthy of a physician's dignity" ("Precepts," in *Hippocrates*, ed. W. H. S. Jones [London, 1923], I, 327).

¹⁵ John of Arderne, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-7, *passim*.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, chap. iv.

Also he warns against making fun of anyone because one can never tell who can stand jokes. John of Arderne impresses upon his readers that the doctor

should never unwarily reveal the confidences of his patients, neither those of men or of women, nor set one person against another. For if a person sees that the physician keeps another man's counsel he will trust him more.¹⁷

Alberti de Zancarii,¹⁸ who summarizes these same ideas in the Introduction to his *De cautelis medicorum habendis* and tells us that he is basing his paragraph on the writings of Hippocrates, adds in conclusion, "The physician should not be too trusting towards people, nor too credulous, nor too austere, so that he will not lose their respect by being too gullible nor make them avoid him by being too severe."¹⁹

The doctors themselves knew that their reputations were not all they should be, and in all the deontological chapters they warn against those persons who would make infamous proposals to doctors because from "time immemorial it has been an article of faith with the common people that every surgeon is a thief, a murderer or a swindler."²⁰ No wonder that so many of their books have stressed the idea that they must do everything in their power to be of good repute in all things. That they have succeeded in making their profession one of the most honored in all countries goes without saying.

Unfortunately these chapters on ethical matters do not go into detail on the subject of a doctor's education, but they all warn their readers against illiterate practitioners who wish to treat the art of medicine as a rude handicraft. Most of a fourteenth-century doctor's knowledge had to come from books and university lectures, although they could inspect

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁸ A Bolognese physician who flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century.

¹⁹ Manuel Morris, *Die Schrift des Albertus de Zancariis aus Bologna* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 12.

²⁰ Mondeville, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

cases in a few hospitals such as St. Bartholomew's in London and could accompany older practitioners on their professional visits. Hence the translations of Greek and Arabic works as well as the writings of contemporaries and immediate predecessors were of utmost importance to doctors young and old, although Mondeville gives the timely warning that "too much faith in books chokes natural talent."²¹ That he must have a fairly broad education is evident from several different sources.

He must not only have knowledge of medicine, but he must also know the books of nature, which is called philosophy. Grammar, logic, rhetoric and ethics are the four sciences which are necessary to examine things judiciously. With the help of logic things can be tested reasonably; grammar gives us the meaning of the words in Latin, rhetoric teaches us to talk properly, as we hear from the philologists, who however have not acquired this art from books, but by practice. The doctor must also know ethics, as this science teaches good morals.²²

Guy de Chauliac was even more explicit in his warning:

It should be as Galen said in the first of the *Therapeutics*, that if the doctors have not learned geometry, astronomy, dialectics, nor any other good discipline, soon the leather workers, carpenters, and farriers will quit their own occupations and become doctors.²³

Cases were not always accepted by reputable physicians in classical and medieval times. According to Mondeville,

a surgeon ought to be fairly bold. He ought not to quarrel before the laity, and although he should operate wisely and prudently, he should never undertake any dangerous operation unless he is sure that it is the only way to avoid a greater danger. . . . He ought to promise a cure to every sick person, but he should refuse as far as possible all dangerous cases, and he should never accept desperately sick ones.²⁴

The reasons for such remarks have often been misinterpreted by our own writers and editors, who claim that it was only

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²² Jan Yperman, Book I, chap. iv; cf. Isidore of Seville, *Liber etymologiarum*, Book IV, chap. xiii.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

because these earlier doctors had a selfish and cowardly desire to escape all blame and criticism. A careful analysis of these fourteenth-century works and a study of their sources show that this fear is not merely a personal one but is professional as well—the laity were already too prone to distrust the medics, and, if the latter promised cures when they knew the case to be a hopeless one, this distrust would be increased. Hippocrates gives us the real key to this problem:

First I will define what I conceive medicine to be. In general terms, it is to do away with the sufferings of the sick, to lessen the violence of their diseases, and to refuse to treat those who are overmastered by their diseases, realizing that in such cases medicine is powerless. . . . For if a man demand from an art a power over what does not belong to the art, or from nature a power over what does not belong to nature, his ignorance is more allied to madness than to lack of knowledge.²⁵

A surgeon should also be careful to

estimate the strength of a patient before he operates. If a patient dies of the operation and not of mere weakness the surgeon is held excused so long as the friends think the wound looks healthy, but if the wound looks badly the surgeon is credited with the death even though the patient has simply died of weakness.²⁶

If a doctor has accepted a case that he later realizes is undoubtedly going to prove fatal, there are two alternatives: he may refuse to continue the treatment or "if the relatives still insist on continuing the treatment, do not neglect to inform them in good time of the impending calamity, for if the end would be fatal you shall not be blamed and shall retain their friendship."²⁷

Of equal importance with medical care in effecting cures was the state of mind of the patient. Each writer has his own ideas on the methods to be employed to bring about the correct mental condition, but all agree that few diseases can be overcome if the patient is in the wrong frame of mind. First

²⁵ "The Art," *loc. cit.*, II, 193, 203.

²⁶ Mondeville, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

of all one can begin improving the mental state of the patient "by music of viols and ten-stringed psaltery, or by forged letters describing the death of his enemies, or if he is a churchman by telling him that he has been elected to a bishopric."²⁸

Always warn the patient that the cure will take a long time, in fact make it twice as long as you really think it will be so that the patient will not be in despair. Then if the patient recovers sooner and

considers or wonders or asks why he was told the time of curing would be longer, say that it was because the patient was strong hearted, and suffered well sharp things, and that he was of good complexion, and had able flesh to heal; and feign other causes pleasing to the patient, for patients are made proud and delighted by such words.²⁹

John of Arderne's advice is often very religious and in places quite scholastic in tone, although he admits the necessity of merry tales:

And another sayeth, "He may never be in rest of body that is out of rest of soul; I will suffer less things that I suffer not more grievous." It beseemeth a great hearted man that he suffer sharp things, he forsooth that is weak of heart is not on the road to recovery, for why? for truly in all my life I have seen but few laboring in this vice healed in any sickness; therefore let wise men beware that they have nothing to do with such. . . . If patients complain that their medicines are bitter or sharp then the leech shall say to the patient, "It is read in the last lesson of Matins of the Nativity of Our Lord that Our Lord Jesus Christ came into this world for the health of mankind to the manner of a good leech and wise." And when he cometh to the sick man show him medicine, some light and some hard; and let him say to the sick man, "If thou wilt be made whole this and this thou shalt take." . . . The physician should comfort the patient in admonishing him that in anguish he be of great heart. For a great heart maketh a man hardy and strong to suffer sharp things and grievous. . . . Also it is advisable that a leech tell good tales and honest that will make the patients laugh, as well of the Bible as of other tragedies; and any other things which may make or induce a light heart in the patient or the sick man.³⁰

Connected with the problem of the proper conduct of the physician in regard to their patients is the obedience of the

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁹ John of Arderne, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 8.

patient and what the doctor should do to obtain it. According to Mondeville,

the method by which the surgeon can compel the obedience of his patients, is to explain to them the dangers of disobedience. He may exaggerate these if the patient has a bold and hardy spirit, or he may temper and soften the warnings, or keep silent altogether if the patient is faint hearted or good natured. . . . The surgeon also should promise that if the patient can endure his illness and will obey the surgeon for a short time he will soon be cured and will escape all of the dangers which have been pointed out to him; thus the cure can be brought about more easily and more quickly. . . . If the patient is defiant, seldom will the result be successful; as Galen says "as many patients who have confidence in a doctor, that number will recover." Therefore the surgeon must see to it that either by his own efforts or by those of some one else, the patient has confidence in him. . . . And if he knows that the patient has no faith in his ability, he must not accept the case.³¹

There will be no cure if the surgeon does not believe "that the patient has confidence in him and will obey him, otherwise the surgeon cannot visit him with the proper solicitude." Also a doctor should not accept a case if

the patient imagines that neither confidence, obedience, nor the surgical operation will be of any benefit, unless the doctor states in advance the danger to be feared [from this lack of confidence]; or that he is persuaded to accept it by supplications, a large fee, and unless the nurses and friends of the patient consider the doctor shall be entirely and absolutely exonerated from all the accidents which might happen.³²

The patient must be warned against consulting more than one doctor at a time because, if he calls in a crowd of them, there will be endless disagreements and different suggestions, and in the meantime the patient will suffer from lack of care. However, the doctor or the patient may call in two or three for a consultation, but it is better if one doctor who seems to know the most about the case should continue the treatment alone.³³

The doctors are warned against professional jealousy; if a doctor is asked about a colleague, he "should neither set him

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 174 ff.

at nought nor praise him overmuch but should courteously answer: 'I have very little knowledge of him but I have learned nothing but of his goodness and honesty,' and thus shall the honor be increased for each one."

The physician or surgeon must be wary when his advice is asked by another doctor:

It is better if he have good excuses that he may refuse their demands. . . . He may feign an injury, or illness, or some other likely excuse. But if he accepts their demands let him make a covenant for his work and make it beforehand. . . . Clearly advise the other leech that he will give no definite answer in any case until he has seen the sickness and the symptoms of the patient. After he has visited the sick person and if he thinks that the latter will recover, nevertheless he should warn the patient of the perils to come if the treatment is not carried out as he himself ordered.³⁴

Another obligation put upon the attending doctor is to see that his patient has proper and careful nursing.

If the assistants [attendants or relatives] are not careful and conscientious, and are not obedient to the doctor in every possible way they will set at nought the work of the surgeon. For example, if the assistants have not made ready all necessities at the appointed time so that the surgeon cannot have a fire, dressings, bandages, or wine, he will have to change the order of treatment. Also if they are chatterboxes and if by chance they tell the patient bad news concerning his condition, . . . they will cause the patient to have an access of choler and high fever and the surgeon will have to change his treatment and it may mean death for the patient. Also if the assistants quarrel among themselves, or mutter or scowl, they are liable to excite the irritation and fear of the sick one. In cases like this the surgeon should take every precaution.³⁵

Not only will the attendants sometimes cause trouble for the doctor but often the wives or husbands will make difficulties.

It often happens that the wife or the husband is angry at the patient; more often it is the wife than the husband, because to-day in France it is more often the wife who commands and the husband who obeys, and everything that the surgeon orders for the care of her husband the wife considers to be entirely useless, although that which he orders for the wife, the husband thinks will be of great benefit. . . . If he [the doctor] fears

³⁴ John of Arderne, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³⁵ Mondeville, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff.

troublesome raconteurs, he must not let any outsiders in to talk with the patient. If he fears the noise made by neighboring artisans, such as iron-smiths, carpenters and others, bad air, noisome smells, smoke from the coal which the Parisian smiths commonly use, or anything else coming from outside which might be injurious to the patient, he must eliminate them as far as possible, before they have caused any damage.

But taking care of the sick was not the only duty of a true physician for he must also advise his people how to prevent ill health

because the treatment which stops the onset of a new disease is more useful to a patient than all other treatments. But this is, as one can see, useless and harmful to the surgeon because he thus stops the appearance of a disease whose treatment would be advantageous to himself. Thus he should give this advice to only five classes of people; 1. to those who are really poor, for the love of God, . . . 2. to his friends from whom he does not wish to receive a fixed revenue or a definite sum of money, . . . 3. to those whom he knows to be grateful after a complete recovery, . . . 4. to those who repay poorly, such as our seigniors and their relatives, chamberlains, justices, and bailiffs, avocats, and all those to whom he does not dare refuse counsel, . . . 5. to those who pay completely in advance.³⁶

But Mondeville also says that from all of these the doctors should expect to receive gifts, so they will not lose out entirely. In order to prevent disease, the doctor should advise his patients to eat, drink, and live abstemiously. John of Mirfeld,³⁷ an English physician of the first half of the fourteenth century, said that people should not only follow a proper diet to maintain good health but that they should also have plenty of exercise, preferably out of doors. He advised prelates "to have a rope in their rooms suspended from the ceiling, knotted at the end, on which they could exercise by swinging or raising themselves." He also told them "to carry weights in their hands while walking about their homes if they could not take enough outdoor exercise."

In regard to the problem of determining the fees for each case and the manner of collecting them, one must admit that

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³⁷ *Floriarium Bartholomei*, BM MS Royal 7, fol. 11.

the fourteenth-century attitude on this ever delicate subject, although a little more considerate than that of the two preceding centuries, was not up to the standard set by the Hippocratic ideal.³⁸ Medieval physicians were seldom shy in admitting in their works that they often charged high fees and became very wealthy from their practice. As John of Arderne says:

And if he sees that the patient is busily following the cure, then after inquiring about the state of his health, ask boldly for more or less [in fees]; but be he ever wary of scarce asking, for over scarce asking setteth at nought both the market and the thing.³⁹

That they were often avaricious is evident from many sources, sometimes even from the frank confessions of the doctors themselves. John of Mirfeld relates a charming story to warn his students concerning this grave fault. He tells about the doctor whose patient had owed him thirteen pounds for three years. When the doctor was dying, and his priest urged him to accept the Eucharist, all the poor man could say was "thirteen pounds in three years."⁴⁰

Henry of Mondeville must have had an especially difficult time in collecting fees or have been a very grasping person, for he devotes many paragraphs to the subject of charging for services and making patients pay.

The surgeon must take into account three things when a patient comes to him. First his own standing in the profession, then the condition of the patient, and the seriousness of the illness. . . . The main objective of the sick is to get rid of their diseases, but when once they are cured, they will most likely forget to pay. But the object of the doctor is to obtain his money, and he ought never to be satisfied with a mere promise to pay, nor with a pledge, but he should either take the money in advance or demand a bond for it. . . . The doctor ought not to have too much faith in appearances. Rich people have a bad habit of appearing before him in old clothes, or if they do happen to be well-dressed they make up all sorts of excuses for demanding lower fees. They claim that charity is a flower when they find some one else who will help the poor, and thus think that a surgeon

³⁸ Hippocrates, "Precepts," *loc. cit.*, I, 327.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ *Floriarium Bartholomei*, BM MS Royal 7, fol. 20.

should help the unfortunate; they however would never be bound by this rule. . . . I tell these people, then pay me for yourself and for three paupers and I will help them as well as you. But they never answer me, and I have never found a person in any position, whether clerk or layman, who was rich enough, or honest enough to pay what he had promised until I made him do so.⁴¹

These fourteenth-century medical ideals can best be summed up in the words of one of their own doctors:

I say that the doctor should be well mannered, bold in many ways, fearful of dangers, that he should abhor the false cures or practices. He should be affable to the sick, kindhearted to his colleagues, wise in his prognostications. He should be chaste, sober, compassionate and merciful: he should not be covetous, grasping in money matters, and then he will receive a salary commensurate with his labors, the financial ability of his patients, the success of the treatment, and his own dignity.⁴²

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 111, 188, 199, 200, 201.

⁴² Guy de Chauliac, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

II

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS

MEINECKE'S *IDEENGESCHICHTE* AND
THE CRISIS IN HISTORICAL
THINKING

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I

THE crisis in historical study has struck Germany with peculiar force; for devotion to the historical approach had become more widespread and more thoroughgoing there than in any other country.¹ This approach acquired a philosophy of its own, which was called "historism," and both the philosopher, Ernst Troeltsch, and the historian, Friedrich Meinecke, regard the rise of historism as one of the greatest intellectual revolutions of all time.² Since historism reached its height among the Germans, it has been used by them to explain the difference between German and western European intellectual life as this difference was manifested during the World War. The Germans carried their historical-mindedness to the point of making it the fundamental way of looking at things, while western Europe did not. As the viewpoint of historism was to a certain extent implicit in the study of history, its influence was felt in western Europe; but fundamentally historism was German and has remained so.

¹ This statement of the crisis is based primarily upon the following books: Friedrich Meinecke, *Staat und Persönlichkeit* (Berlin, 1933); *idem*, *Preussen und Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich and Berlin, 1918); *idem*, *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (2 vols.; Munich and Berlin, 1936); Ernst Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Tübingen, 1922); and Wilhelm Windelband, *Die Philosophie im deutschen Geistesleben des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1909). For further analysis see Karl Heussi, *Die Krisis des Historismus* (Tübingen, 1932).

² *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, p. 59.

With the rise of German idealism and romanticism at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries German thinking broke away from that of western Europe. While western Europe preserved the eighteenth-century heritage of natural rights and utilitarianism, Germany created the philosophy of transcendentalism. By their theory of identity Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, to mention only a few of the greatest of the Idealists, transformed the dualism of the Enlightenment into a monism of nature and spirit, of matter and God. They sought in the history of mankind for the revelation of God. When romanticism added its moral appreciation of the individual, an appreciation which lay implicit in idealism, the ingredients of historism were assembled—idealism, development, and individuality.³

The concept of development did not suffice to produce historism or to give it distinctiveness. That idea was accepted by western Europe as well. The historism concept of development, however, included "a greater degree of spontaneity, of plasticity and incalculability" than the idea of progress and of "the unfolding of the content of a given germ."⁴ The great difference between Western historical thinking and German historism lay not so much in their position on the problem of development as in their emphasis upon historical individuality. As Meinecke has said, Western thought regarded the individual as "a mere point in various causal sequences."⁵ To it individuality was a shallow expression of collective forces. It loved to generalize about history, and, since it regarded man as essentially the same in all ages, it believed that thereby it could arrive at truth. Meinecke does not wish to imply that the historian should not seek general laws and types of human life. He must employ this point of view also, but "he must fuse it with an understanding

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–61; Ernst Troeltsch, "Der deutsche Idealismus," in *Aufsätze zur Geistesgeschichte und Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, 1925).

⁴ *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, I, 5.

⁵ *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, p. 61.

of the individual." Mankind has in part remained the same; nonetheless, the spiritual and intellectual life of the individual and of groups has undergone profound changes and taken on a multitude of forms.⁶ These changes and the diversity of forms constitute the individualities in history and attract most the eye of the historian. They fill the past with infinite richness. "Historical individualities," according to Meinecke's definition, "are those appearances which have in themselves some tendency toward the good, the beautiful or the true and thereby become significant and valuable to us;"⁷ or, as he has again written, "The inimitable, unique individuality, developing according to its own organic laws, is something which cannot be grasped merely by logical thinking or by mechanical laws of causality, but must be conceived, viewed and experienced by means of all the spiritual powers;" it is, as Troeltsch has said, something "inexplicably original and unique."

No devotee of historism in his understanding of individualities went to the extreme of Carlyle. Persons rank among the important forces, but they are not the sole heroes. The German definition of historical individuality is so inclusive that the whole of world-history may be conceived as one individuality. The nation, the state, the church, the family, the concept of German spirit or romance spirit, an idea such as *raison d'état*, nationalism, or cosmopolitanism, a process, a person, an entire culture—any one of these or of others may be elevated to this company. "Everything develops according to its own law," Meinecke has written, "and this law is no general one which always produces the same thing; but it is in each case an individual law which produces the particular."⁸ The historical world is the world of innumerable things, as populous as Plato's Kingdom of Ideas.

This conception of individuality came from the age of

⁶ *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, I, 2-3.

⁷ *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, p. 43.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

idealism and was transmitted by means of German humanistic education, of which history forms one of the most influential parts. Classicism and romanticism produced a formula by which historians could observe the past. History became filled with a wealth of individualities, it glowed with the grandeur of its treasures, it offered an endless array of values. Through study of it men could lift the blinds from their eyes and find imbedded in their own age the glories of the past, the possibilities of the present, and the potentialities of the future. The study of history touched the present with the splendor of dreams and set before the humblest scholar the ideal of individuality.

The credit for transferring most perfectly the idea of individuality to historical work belongs to Leopold von Ranke. His application is accepted by Meinecke, who distinguishes his own work from the master's by stating that, while Ranke portrayed these individualities without precise definition, the present generation of historians must clarify them by the use of concepts and outline them carefully against the surrounding world.⁹

Toward the end of the nineteenth century rebellion against the historical, humanistic ideal raised its head. Nietzsche made the first noteworthy attack. His accusations and those of his successors were directed at the heart of historicism. The wealth of history, they argued, had undermined intelligence. Historians counted the dead so carefully that they failed to comprehend the living world around them. Instead of aiding in the development of a set of values, the study of history had disclosed so many kinds of values that historians accepted all of them and believed in none. They were lost in the mazes of historical relativity from which history seemed to offer no deliverance. Instead of building up personality, Nietzsche complained, history was an opiate to the will. It was a menace, he declared, to the vigor of life.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

German historical scholars, including Meinecke, were troubled by these reflections. They divided the responsibility for the dilemma of historical study between, on the one hand, the nature of the subject and the sins committed in its name and, on the other hand, the changed conditions of the world. They feared that society, pressed by the industrial revolution, had speeded ahead so quickly that it had lost interest in the past. There was an antithesis between a life of action and one of contemplation of the past; the will to do, not the inclination to theorize or to discover origins or connections, was uppermost. The German philosopher, Windelband, has described the turn as one from intellectualism to voluntarism. An industrialist or a statesman had become so much more important than a historian or philosopher as almost to eclipse him. The Krupp works and historism had not been reconciled; one was living in the present and in view of the morrow; the other was burrowing in the past, either from the love of burrowing or for explanations of a present which with each day rushed away into an unknown future. As soon as Germany began to create history (with the founding of the empire), Windelband said of his country, she lost interest in the study of it.¹⁰

The share of historism in drawing this obloquy upon itself has probably been less important than the fact that the age has run away from it and its problems. Historism, however, has made almost no effort to keep up. Meinecke explains its delinquency on historical grounds. The great age from Ranke to Treitschke of historical writing owed its excellence, he thinks, to two fortunate conditions. First, it inherited the philosophy of German idealism and the thought and attitudes of romanticism. Second, in the unification of Germany it had a positive political goal to reach. The historian enjoyed the advantage of a definite philosophic faith by which he could interpret history and a definite political problem to which he

¹⁰ Windelband, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.

could apply his historical sense. The historian participated actively in the solution of the greatest problem of his age.¹¹

After unification was accomplished, little remained for the historian to do. As Heinrich von Sybel plaintively asked, "How will one live after this? Where will one acquire at my age a new content for the rest of my life?"¹² The next generation of historians, unprejudiced by political aims, answered by turning to the work of painstaking research, by digging into the detailed problems of the past, by correcting the judgments of the older historians, by preserving an Olympian calm. History entered the period of monographs—a period in which the fumes of the laboratory excluded from its work the tainting odors of life. The historian became a professional craftsman like the cobbler or the cutlery manufacturer. Happy in the achievement of the empire, he felt no need to defend new causes, to serve ends other than those of historical truth. His environment was perfect; life seemed simple; standards were fixed. He concentrated, therefore, upon causes for historical events and reduced the role of values to an incidental one. The more he investigated the past, however, the larger grew the variety of objects to study. In spite of his effort to repress an interest in values by emphasizing impersonal causality, he found it increasingly difficult to deny the fact of changing values. His material security may have inclined him to indulge in the aesthetic pleasure of reflecting upon the relativity of value. In the end he became an archempiricist, a man who was in some respects twin brother of the pragmatist. Since by making studies of various causal chains in history he persisted in his efforts to arrive at objectivity, he destroyed the means, which a more conscious consideration of values in history would have given, of overcoming his value relativity and restoring the functional significance of historical study to contemporary society.

Unfortunately, in the last decades of the nineteenth cen-

¹¹ *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, pp. 19 and 99.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

tury the breakdown of absolutes produced by historicism was aggravated a hundred fold by the industrial revolution, the cataclysmic results of modern science, and the birth of modern psychology. Relativity affected all branches of life with disbelief in fixed standards. Those least touched were persons who, because they devoted their energies to practical matters, acquiesced in the utilitarianism, positivism, and materialism of western Europe. For many thinkers, among whom Meinecke is to be numbered, the problem of value came to supersede all others. What should one believe, they asked. What ideals were worth while? In fact, were any worthy of acceptance?

Equally urgent was the question of how one was to become an independent personality. The compulsory regimentation of industry seemed to make of the individual a functional unit. Yet society was eager for some means for enabling it to burst the collectivist shackles. What guides should one choose? What values could one accept? How might one, in Nietzsche's phrase, transvaluate values?

The solutions have varied according to the social and intellectual groups offering them. Nationalism, communism, materialistic utilitarianism, and subjectivism are among the outstanding ones.¹³ Intellectually the renewed concern with values has led philosophers away from the history of philosophy into the field of systematization; it has encouraged historians to write fewer monographs and more biographies and syntheses, and it has produced among artists and writers the period of expressionism. In Germany particularly it has revived interest in the literature and philosophy of idealism and has placed historicism on the defensive. Threatened by the collectivist menace, borne down by the weight of empirical history, and confused by the flux of values, the modern person has demanded an education which will more directly de-

¹³ See the essay entitled "Persönlichkeit und geschichtliche Welt" in *Staat und Persönlichkeit*.

velop his capacities as an individual than historicism seemed to do. The German Idealists did not bother with history, he said; therefore, why should I? They developed the most perfect personalities of modern times; should I not follow their precedent? Let us adapt our educational system to our world, let the dead bury the dead, let us express ourselves, be! Hence he has consumed quick, flashy historical syntheses or pseudo-philosophies like Langbehn's and Spengler's.

As a result Germany seems to be casting off her humanistic, historical system of education. Historicism threatens to be relegated to the heap of antiquated creeds. The finest product of German culture, that which has distinguished it from all others, now runs the risk of being pronounced moribund. Political economy and sociology, studies saturated with Western utilitarianism and unconcerned about German humanism and historicism, are rapidly invading the precincts of learning.¹⁴

The attack on historicism has aroused a serious discussion of the nature and function of history. Philosophers like Rickert, Troeltsch, and Simmel, to mention only a few, have revived the problem of historical logic and, by working out a theory of value for historicism, have attempted to reconcile it with modern life. The historian who has given these questions the most careful attention is Friedrich Meinecke. Although acquainted with the works from other fields on the subject, he has approached it, so he declares, as a historian, using the tools and experience of his profession.¹⁵ In his value history he has offered one of the most fruitful methods as yet proposed for solving the problems posed by historicism.

Before attempting an analysis of Meinecke's conception of value history, it will be useful to recapitulate these problems. First, comes the question of how the historian is to prevent the mind from becoming weakened by historical relativity. Second, comes that of how he is to save personality from the

¹⁴ *Preussen und Deutschland*, pp. 465-68. ¹⁵ *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, p. 40.

menaces of collectivism, positivism, and utilitarianism. How can he defend the humanistic-historical ideal of personality in education against modern subjectivity? Third, he must consider how he is to restore the contact between historical study and contemporary life and hence assist his own time to a clearer understanding of itself. Lastly, how can he broaden the scope or modify the character of historical study so as to make all this possible? How can he ward off the two enemies, "professional ossification" and "subjective exaggeration"?¹⁶ To enable him to answer these questions Meinecke has been forced into a consideration of the nature of history and for standards and inspiration has returned to the works of von Ranke.

II

Meinecke attributes the degeneration of historical study to an overzealous interest in causal relations.¹⁷ The pursuit of causes and origins, he thinks, has deadened in his colleagues the sense of why they are studying history. He believes with von Ranke that history should contain discussion of both causality and value. Although Meinecke recognizes the right of one historian to be more concerned with causality, another with value, the rule which he has adopted for himself is, "No causality without values, no values without causality." In his most famous books, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* and *Die Idee der Staatsräson* and in his most recent one, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, he has chosen subjects of great causal significance and has shown in model form how value history can be written with little or no regard for causality.

Since empirical causation constitutes the object of orthodox historical study, Meinecke emphasizes value history. He

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁷ The material in this section follows closely that in Meinecke's essay, "Kausalitäten und Werte in der Geschichte," in *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, pp. 28-54.

introduces his argument with an analysis of causality and distinguishes three kinds:

the mechanical, which rests upon a complete identity of cause and effect; the biological, which allows effect to grow beyond the cause through the full unfolding of the life-germ into a living form with its own structure, purposes and laws; the spiritual-moral, which breaks through the purely mechanical causal connection by reason of the fact that spontaneous impulses of the personality directed at certain purposes and explicable in neither mechanical nor biological terms influence human action.¹⁸

The positivist historian, Meinecke says, leans toward the first type, or more recently, under Spengler's influence, to the second, and is strongly inclined to reject the spiritual-ethical. The positivist stresses the importance of collective forces which to him dominate the actions of individuals. Scientific historicism, Meinecke continues, follows the example of von Ranke in accepting all three kinds of causality. It renounces all desire to determine which is most important and confesses that, while it should endeavor to distinguish the workings of each, it often cannot do so. In last analysis it must depend upon "an indefinable feeling of tact," "an artistic intuition," to explain the individual appearances and their connections.¹⁹

Thereby Meinecke admits that historical study does not remain a pure science which aims solely at causal explanation.²⁰ But he justifies his position against the accusation of mysticism by declaring that the nature of historical material compels it.

Every attempt to comprehend historical sources solely by causal judgments [he writes] leads to a violation of the materials, to an effacing of one causal form by another; but if undertaken with tactful discretion, this attempt must end in a perplexed halt before the mystery of reality. Only a way which is not purely intellectual, that is, not purely causal, will lead us a step further; it cannot, indeed, reveal all; but it can make possible an intuitive understanding of things. By means of a living picture it can give us a sympathetic feeling for them. In case the purely scientific means are inadequate, it is more useful for the study of history to employ such supra-scientific means than to apply the former where their application must necessarily lead to false results.²¹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

If it is impossible to distinguish among the three kinds of causality without the assistance of metaphysics, what can be said of the criterion for selecting historical subjects? The purely causal historian, Meinecke avows, would need to accept the entirety of human action as his sphere of research. Nonetheless, the historian of cause regards as essential only a small part. "But what is essential?" asks Meinecke. If "essential" is considered as that which has been especially effective in influencing the fate of mankind, Meinecke replies:

Purely causally considered the rough physical conditions and necessities of life, soil and sun, hunger and love, are the most "influential" factors of human action, while the historian, at least, the non-materialistic one, usually regards these as self-evident causal presuppositions for the events which interest him and considers them only in case they intrude to a special and unusual extent.²²

Furthermore, Meinecke shows that "influential" may conceal two meanings. It may signify that which had causal effect on the course of history in the past or it may signify that which has continued to be influential. This latter form of influence is both causal and supra-causal because it affords us something of special profit in our own lives irrespective of the chain of causality. Whether this profit is of practical benefit or whether it comes to us in a purely contemplative way is of no importance. In both cases value is derived from history. This desire for values, he continues, "alongside and behind the desire for purely causal knowledge drives us to history."²³ In fact, even causal history satisfies the need for an ethical value, the ideal of truth.

Another question which arises is that of what constitutes value. Meinecke differentiates between two kinds, "the lower, purely animal life-values" and the "higher, spiritual life-values or culture-values."²⁴ For the historian the animal values come into consideration only as causalities. The culture values form his particular sphere of interest, and the compre-

²² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

hension of them is his highest aim. Meinecke defines "spirit" as follows:

[It is] not merely the psychical but the more highly developed life of the soul which differentiates, chooses, judges and thereby produces culture. Culture is the revelation and penetration of a spiritual element within the general causal connection. Between the cultural and the natural spheres of human life lies a middle region partaking of both.²⁵

It is the spirit acting within this middle region which harnesses nature to human needs and creates "culture." This region which partakes of both nature and culture is called "civilization" and to it belong, for example, inventions and the force of *raison d'état*. The historian, Meinecke writes, will have to deal continually with this sphere because most historical causes belong to it and because the events in it easily and almost imperceptibly can become cultural accomplishments. The soul, Meinecke writes, must respond to a sense of usefulness if the beautiful or good is to be created. Otherwise it remains a creation of the understanding, mere civilization and not culture. Culture is attained when in addition to his will and reason man takes up the battle against nature with his entire inner being, when he seeks or creates something good, beautiful, or true for its own sake. Everything which he does in this way becomes of value to the historian, for it emphasizes the continuity and fruitfulness of the spiritual element in history and shows the way which the unfolding of it has taken. But to understand history completely the historian must not omit to investigate causality, which in great part has nothing to do with culture. Even here the worth while will, as in life itself, now and then flare up.²⁶

The distinction between nature and culture and the combination of the two into civilization are fundamental to Meinecke's philosophy of history. This dualism, however, is an organic rather than a mechanistic one. "God struggles upward out of nature with groans and moans and burdened with

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

sin," Meinecke writes, "and is in constant danger of sinking back into nature."²⁷ Culture arises, he declares, only when an individual, spiritual power breaks through the mechanical or biological causal chain; but the historian, he adds, often cannot determine whether a value originates in the biological sphere or in the spiritual-ethical sphere. As a rule, and especially in the region of civilization, it bears the evidence of both origins. To try to separate the sources is "the most tormenting question which the historian confronts." He often finds "great and abundant cultural values with a vulgar and unclean source," such as Burckhardt disclosed in the history of the Italian Renaissance. Meinecke accuses the everyday historian, especially one most interested in causality, of ignoring or concealing "the often horrible and repulsive origin" of the achievements which he studies, not intentionally but because he judges the past in terms of development or progress. The disclosure of this dualism constitutes the work of the historian who, in analyzing the life of individualities, witnesses "God's struggle upward out of nature" and the "constant danger of sinking back into it."²⁸

In accordance with these ideas Meinecke does not believe that the masses produce culture. So far as the historian is concerned, he declares, they count either as sources of potential personalities or as causal factors. In themselves they have no value. The collectivist interpretation of history, Meinecke holds, is based on the consideration of causality alone; for, if it recognized a theory of value, it would be forced to acknowledge that every manifestation of culture is the creation of an individual.

As soon as something spiritual and individual appears out of the physical [Meinecke writes] it awakens the evaluating interest of the historian; if it is lacking, the physical remains in the biological sphere of mere being and can come into consideration for him, not as a value in itself, but as a causal explanation of other values.²⁹

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

The theory of value history immediately evokes the question as to how historical materials shall be chosen. Meinecke's double conception of the nature of history imposes dual criteria—that of causal effectiveness and that of “the inner unique culture value of the historical object.” A historical object may be worth investigating and honoring for itself whether or not it has exerted any effect upon its time. To illustrate this argument Meinecke refers to the poet who is charmed by a useless antique lamp. “Whatever is beautiful,” he says, “seems blessed in itself.”³⁰

The introduction of the second criterion separates Meinecke from the ordinary historian who, as he has often lamented, still fails to grasp its justness and worth. The historian of causality objects that value history necessarily opens the way to subjectivity. Meinecke replies that no historian can obliterate himself from his study. He must include himself because he must judge. His own nature compels him to judge. Even when, like von Ranke, he refrains from expressing evaluations, he imposes upon the reader the more readily his own ideals because he presents them as impartial facts. But, Meinecke maintains, conscious judgment as well is often needed.

One wishes to see confirmed through revelation in the world [he writes] that which one feels to be the spiritual goal of life. One wants to know the strength and continuity of the spiritual streams of life converging upon one's self; one wants to find the path along which mankind has come in order to divine the path which it will take. One wishes to revere the powers which enable our existence to attain the freedom of the spiritual. No matter how one conceives of God, one seeks Him in history.³¹

The historian's personal interest will inevitably determine the selection of subject and material and his own refinement of understanding will fix the amount of interpretation which he will derive from them. This is a normal condition and need arouse no alarm. The problem consists, according to Meinecke, in reducing subjectivity to the minimum which,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

without destroying its enriching effect upon the materials, will offer the best means of reconciling these apparent opposites. Subjectivity, Meinecke writes, will be repressed because

the value of the object will be appreciated as a unique, irreplaceable revelation of spiritual life. It is necessary to put one's self in the souls of the persons acting, to observe their work and their cultural creations from their presuppositions and, in last analysis, to animate anew their past life by artistic intuition. This cannot be done without a transfusion of one's own lifeblood. Only a mind open patiently and sympathetically to everything human will attain the degree of objectivity which is at all possible.³²

The example of the poet with the Greek lamp brings out the point. By losing himself in the contemplation of its unique beauty the poet is able to feel and perceive its value qualities; if he wishes to enhance his pleasure, he can study the historical setting of the lamp by way of both causality and value. Then he will appreciate the lamp as a historical individuality, perfect and complete in itself and yet bound with other individuals. By a balance of subjective responsiveness and contemplative aloofness the historian can derive from it the maximum of aesthetic satisfaction.

When history treats the "creation of unique spiritual values, of historical individualities," as with Meinecke, the forms of culture farthest away from nature are expected to rank highest. While Meinecke is diffident about arranging the branches of knowledge in hierarchical order, the nature of his theory of values impels him toward certain conclusions. Theology and the arts, philosophy and pure science, take their places in order at the top of the cultural subjects. Then follow those, such as the state, which root in the soil of nature. Does this distinction between two kinds of culture mean that the contemplative, spiritual life stands above the life of action? Certainly it would seem so. Yet Meinecke's answer is that of the model historian, "Yes" and "No." Man does rise highest above nature in the spheres of religion, philos-

³² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

ophy, art, and science. Active life does bind him closer to nature, and the culture which he creates in it bears a larger proportion of the dross. But the task of forming it is more difficult and urgent; even the contemplative culture, Meinecke states, should serve life. In fact its greatest function is to guide mankind. The historian must devote his most careful attention to the question, "In how far and to what degree has life, bound by the compulsion of nature, been transformed into culture?"³³ That is, he must not forget that the criteria for his judgments are two—value and causality. The contemplative cultural things possess more values; but these values exercise causal influence in the region of civilization.

Within the sphere of civilization Meinecke regards the state as the most important historical individual. Of all the historical studies, that of politics, he maintains, stands nearest to life because the state constitutes the fiercest battleground between nature and culture. "The more intensive this fructifying conflict is, the more historical life is present," he says, and he finds in it the "most remarkable and most gripping spectacle" in all experience. "To spiritualize and ethicize the state in which one lives," he declares, "even if one knows that it can never be done thoroughly, is, next to the demand to raise spiritually and morally one's own personality, the highest demand which can be made of ethical action."³⁴ The fascination of this conflict draws the historian continually to the study of the great men of world-history in whose life it is magnificently fought out.

By this characterization Meinecke injects into political history a vigor previously absent. The quarrel between the political historian and the historian of culture is hereby settled; for the difference between the two, Meinecke explains, has arisen from a misunderstanding. The one has emphasized causality in history and, since the state is the most influential causal force, has cast his lot with political history.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

The other, interested in values, has condemned his colleague for this circumscribed analysis of the past and has wished to submerge the state within the sea of culture. By interpreting history in terms of both causality and culture Meinecke blends these conflicting views: political history profits by the addition of a cultural, evaluating purpose; cultural history benefits from the closer relations established with the causal forces producing its materials. The old-line political historian will doubtless object that this is not political history. It is and it is not. It uses the same materials, but it sets different criteria and different purposes and arranges its material in another way. As Meinecke has said, the political historian must study more than the state; he must also include personalities as the sources of power and life within that institution.³⁵ Value history demands that lines of academic subject matter be broken down and those intellectual tools used which will explain the cultural worth of the historical individuality. Meinecke himself borrows heavily from the works of social philosophers. Since he observes the past as a conflict between nature and spirit, he constantly confronts the old problem of good and evil in a new form. The effort calls for a knowledge of ethics. By regarding culture as the supreme expression of life, he must deal with those things which are emancipated from nature, that is, spiritual sublimations from the natural. The ultimate end of historism is metaphysics; as Meinecke points out, the adherent to historism needs metaphysics in order to find unity and purpose for his historical individualities. The positivist historian starts with a metaphysical assumption, that of progress or steady development; the historian of the school of historism concludes with one. In the one case the *Weltanschauung* is accepted without preliminary question; in the other it must be acquired. The acquisition of it is the chief end of historical study. It is evident that this conscious acquisition will sharpen the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

historical sense both with respect to one's self as a historian and with respect to the qualities of historical individualities. Meinecke accepts von Ranke's faith that all epochs are expressions of God.

III

The particular objects which most interest Meinecke are political ideas, and the kind of history which he has pursued is called *Ideengeschichte*. In one of his essays he has written: "To observe how, in the impact one upon another of the earthly, raw forces of state life, individual ideas awaken and struggle for emancipation from them has always moved me most deeply."³⁶ This concern with political ideas would inevitably follow from his interest as a political historian in cultural values; for in them, as he says, *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* are combined. Political ideas, he explains, arise out of the desire to form a picture of the active political life in which reality and idealism commingle. They may become important causal forces and for that reason worthy of investigation. The beginnings of the ideas of socialism and of popular sovereignty have been studied time and again because of their causal significance. But Meinecke holds that ideas have a value of their own apart from their utility; without ignoring the fact that they contain, besides the "perfume of the spirit," a strong "smell of the earth," he has concentrated attention in his *Ideengeschichte* upon the aspect of value.³⁷

It must be apparent that Meinecke endows the concept "idea" with an unusual content. The positivist, he declares, makes "the spiritual and moral idea merely a superstructure over the utilitarian arrangement," devoid of value or of functional influence in itself.³⁸ His own definition follows the tradition of German Idealistic philosophy. "Historical ideas,"

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (Munich and Berlin, 1924), p. 14.

he writes, "are not merely thoughts; rather, they are more in the nature of tendencies in which the needs of the will and of the emotion have basically a greater share than the intellect."³⁹ An idea, he writes again, is the guiding principle in the life of a historical individuality. It arises through ordering and training the lower, sensuous instincts in accordance with an individual value. It is "the highest of all individual appearances."⁴⁰

Perhaps the best explanation can be given by showing how Meinecke treats ideas in his three most famous books, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, *Die Idee der Staatsräson*, and *Die Entstehung des Historismus*. In the first two of these works he writes the history of a political idea; in the last he studies the origins of a cultural idea.

In *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* Meinecke undertakes to show "the entire process of freeing and clarifying the national ideas" in Germany from the cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century to the Bismarckian form of the national state. This denoted a gradual strengthening of the political and national energies "until at length the complete self-determination of the will of the national state was achieved."⁴¹ Even though he discusses mainly the ideas of the great political thinkers like Fichte and von Ranke and of practitioners like Friedrich Wilhelm IV and Bismarck, he uses their works as a means of illuminating this transformation. For he intends to portray thereby "the gradual change and revival of life in these thoughts and in general their connection with life and personality."⁴² In other words, Meinecke is showing by means of the writings of these men how the idea of the national state and the proper method for achieving it grew in

³⁹ *Preussen und Deutschland*, p. 364.

⁴⁰ *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, pp. 8 and 21.

⁴¹ *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat. Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaats* (5th ed.; Munich and Berlin, 1919).

⁴² *Preussen und Deutschland*, p. 364.

clarity and power, how the study of it reveals the process of history working from the germ idea still imprisoned in the matrix of thoughts and institutions foreign to it through the slow courtship of idea and institutional reality to the consummation of the union in the national state. It would not be quite correct to consider the persons whom he treats as responsible for the clarification of this idea. To assert that would be to fall into the ways of the positivist who conceives the idea as an aftermath. The emphasis must be put on the working-out of the idea through individuals rather than the reverse, although it would be falsifying Meinecke's views to stress the distinction. In the unfolding of the idea the person and process assist each other.

The difference between Meinecke's approach and that of the positivist is most manifest in the choice of the individual thinkers. The positivist would have selected the men in accordance with their causal significance. Meinecke has no such criterion. Since he is observing an idea in the process of birth and growth, he even discusses writings which in their time never saw the light of day. His intention is to reveal not the causal weight of these works but their values as determined by the extent to which they disclose the course of development. This purpose is manifest from the organization of the book. In the first chapter the author analyzes with exquisite precision the nature of the idea of a national state—its origin, character, and relations to kindred ideas. This beautiful philosophic digest sets the goal of the process. In the subsequent chapters Meinecke explains to what extent individual writers approached the idea, selecting each in accordance with his usefulness for illustrating the evolution under Bismarck of the idea into institutional reality.

In *Die Idee der Staatsräson* Meinecke ponders two problems. The first, the relation between politics and ethics, was impressed deeply on him by the experiences of the World War and of the post-war period. The second, the relation

between politics and historism, is less emphasized. For an analysis of his method it will not be necessary to reproduce the consummate digest which he gives in his first chapter of the idea of *Staatsräson*. He calls it "the life idea," "the entelechy" of the state, the "maxim of state action," the "law of movement of the state." It sets the paths and goals for the growth of the state, and, since the state is an organic form, the idea of it is both individual and general, permanent and changing in character. The state partakes of nature and spirit; so does the idea of it. In *Staatsräson*, Meinecke holds, can be seen the fierce combat between good and evil, politics and ethics, which has characterized the life of the state since it became a historical individuality. The idea of *Staatsräson*

has been in large degree removed from historical transformation but has participated in all historical changes in the front ranks, a timeless companion and guide of all states created by the hand of man, a spark which is transmitted to each new state. . . . The content of state action changes; the form, that is, the law of this action, remains and is repeated unceasingly.

Staatsräson is a "key science" for history and for the theory of the state.⁴³

Meinecke distinguishes between *Staatsräson* and the idea of *Staatsräson*. To write a history of the former, he thinks, would require a "complete portrayal of general political history according to certain points of views."⁴⁴ In this case the idea would be handled more in its historical effects than in itself. He endeavors to investigate in his book "the ideological penetration and comprehension of *Staatsräson* in the course of time."⁴⁵ Beginning with Machiavelli he devotes an essay to each of the most representative writers on *Staatsräson* down to the present day. The giants in this course are the Florentine, Frederick the Great, and Hegel. Meinecke's organization and approach are the same as in his previous

⁴³ All the quotations in this paragraph are taken from the Introduction of *Die Idee der Staatsräson*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

book. He denies that he is merely writing the history of political theory as the analysis of separate teachings more or less connected with general history.

This pale and shallow method no longer satisfies us. The history of ideas [he writes] must be handled as an important, indispensable part of general history. It portrays what the thinking man has made out of that which he has historically experienced, how he has digested it spiritually, what ideal consequences he has deduced from it. In a certain sense the history of ideas is the reflection of the essence of that which has happened to spirits which are concerned with the essentials of life. Therefore these ideas are not mere shadow pictures or gray theories but the lifeblood of things taken into the bloodstream of men who are called upon to express the essence of their time. The ideology of a significant thinker grown out of the experience of his age is like the drop of attar which is obtained from hundreds of roses. By the transformation of experience into ideas man frees himself from the weight of what he has experienced and creates new forces which shape life. Ideas are the highest points which man can attain; in them his observing spirit and his creative power combine into a complete achievement. For their own sake as well as because of their effect they are worthy of universal historical observation. A history of ideas, Herder said, would provide a key to the history of action! The ideas which guide historical life do not arise solely in the spiritual workshops of great thinkers; they have a broader and deeper origin. But they condense in these workshops; they often assume in them for the first time the form which influences the continuation of things and the actions of men.⁴⁶

To anyone trained in Dunning's histories of political theory the justice of Meinecke's criticism will be readily manifest. Dunning's works are digests of the theories taken in chronological order of each important writer. One learns them by force of will. The usefulness of this knowledge has to be taken on faith; for contact between it and the course of life is practically ignored. Because the nature of his approach has made the historian give theory some general setting, Meinecke thinks that he has sinned in this respect much less than the political scientist. Nonetheless, the historian as well as the political scientist should profit from Meinecke's method. It enables the former to find an intellectual unity, a spiritual value, in his materials, while deepening his understanding of

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

the process which he is studying; for the political scientist it places abstractions in the frame of living social data and imparts to them a quickening purposiveness, a functional value which was lacking. The study of political theory comes to have some particular meaning to us because it deals with theories according to long-time problems rather than according to personal systems. By this method Meinecke produces the remarkable effect of employing theories to animate the past and to provide the present with a greater understanding of the forces with which it must contend. He offers one of the most fruitful approaches which have been produced for the study of the history of political theory. For the pursuit of political history he gives a means by which the myriad of materials and problems can again be brought into order. The ideas which he treats, the growth of the idea of *Staatsräson* and of nationalism, are of great causal significance to the author's contemporary age because they analyze forces with which it must deal and reveal their power. They are treated, however, in a manner which ignores their causal consequence to their own age and concentrates attention upon the value of the thoughts of each writer for comprehending the character and evolution of the ideas. Thus the organic intimacy of causality and value in historical study is established.

The third important work, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, unfortunately remains a collection of essays which does not completely realize the author's ambition. The subject lay perhaps even closer to Meinecke's heart than the other two, and in this book he was undoubtedly fighting for the retention of the way of historism for observing the past. He writes here a part of the "history of those standards of value and principles of form which underlie historical thought as such."⁴⁷ "We see in it [historism] the highest step yet reached in the understanding of human affairs," and he has confidence that it will be preserved and developed.⁴⁸ As in his

⁴⁷ *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, I, 8.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

other histories, the idea which serves as the theme of this work represents far more than a scientific method; it is a vital part of the life of the modern world. "Historism is," he states, "nothing else than the transference to historical life of the new life principles achieved in the great German movement from Leibnitz to Goethe's death. This movement continued an occidental movement, and the crown fell to the German spirit."⁴⁹ He is writing a piece of intellectual history of the Western world in which he sets historism against the background of, and weighs its relation to, "natural law, Neo-Platonism, Christianity, Protestantism, Pietism, the curiosity of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about natural science and travel, the first stirrings of a new feeling for freedom and the nation among the peoples, the blossoming literature of the eighteenth century," and, although even more abstractly, the social and political conditions of the period.⁵⁰ In attacking this task, Meinecke had the choice of two approaches.

One could [he writes] place the problems themselves in the foreground and weave the share of the individual thinkers into a pure history of problems and ideas. The philosophers and the thinkers interested in systematic particular sciences prefer this method. It reveals directly the ideological connections but it does not bring the individual, life-giving basis of the idea into view and it runs the danger of transforming historical life into conceptual hypostasis. Thus the method of the pure historian is justified, which leads to living men and studies in them the course of ideas.⁵¹

He pursued the second course and set a model for the writing of intellectual history. He refuses to regard the history of philosophy or the history of theories as the only kind of intellectual history and prefers the historian's method of providing ideas with a living setting. True to his individualistic view of history, he studies these ideas in relation to personalities. And since he believes that certain personalities reveal the finest achievements of history, he follows the biographical approach. After preliminary studies on the rise of historism,

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

primarily among the French and English figures of the eighteenth century, he analyzes the "strongest manifestation"⁵² of early historicism in the eighteenth century in the three Germans, Möser, Herder, and Goethe; and it is characteristic of Meinecke's method that he traces at most length in the life of Goethe the realization of the ideal of historicism. Unconcerned about the lesser lights among the historians, he follows the brightest revelation of the idea in whatever profession it appeared. He had hoped to conclude his work with an essay on von Ranke; but old age, he laments, prevented him from doing more than a sketch on this figure whom he so greatly admires.

In *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, *Die Idee der Staatsräson*, and *Die Entstehung des Historismus* Meinecke has studied the process of an idea as manifested in the writings of individuals. By a shift of emphasis his method could also be applied in the writing of biography. Instead of pursuing the course of an idea through the works of individuals, one could observe the impact of ideas as seen in both his writings and his acts upon an individual and *vice versa*. Meinecke has formulated the advantage of this procedure as follows:

To understand this play and counterplay of ideas the pure history of ideas is not enough; for it can hardly withstand the temptation to regard the individual as something ideal. The question, how did this interrelation of ideas affect the formation of personality, leads first into the heart of the individual.⁵³

Meinecke's students have made biographical studies in this manner.⁵⁴ Biographical details are subordinated to a portrayal of ideas as they played in and through these figures and in the midst of these forces of the unfolding of a distinct personality. The approach is more philosophical than biographical; a knowledge of the particular circumstances of the

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, p. 11.

⁵⁴ E.g., Hans Rosenberg, *Rudolf Haym und die Anfänge des klassischen Liberalismus* (Munich and Berlin, 1933); Sigmund Kaehler, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und der Staat* (Munich, 1927).

person's life is assumed. These are biographical studies in historical values. By this method two ends are achieved. First, the character and degree of originality of the individual stand out much more clearly than in the ordinary biography. The personality is weighed more carefully against the historical forces at work upon him, and the contradictions or the degree of consistence and uniqueness in his character are more clearly exhibited than in the ordinary biography. Second, the significance of the historical forces functioning in the period can be estimated more accurately.

By studies like these a careful dissection of the body and muscles of history is possible. Because his method observes men from the impersonal elevation of ideas, it lies at the other end of the scale from the ordinary "life and letters" or even the customary chronological biography. While the use of it is full of danger, it nonetheless sharpens, as no other method can, understanding of the importance of historical figures.

IV

The theory of history which Meinecke defends follows the German tradition. Confidence in the power of idealism, the interpretation of history in terms of a conflict between the spiritual-moral and natural forces manifest his determining obligation to the Idealist philosophy, in particular to the illustrious formulation of it by Hegel. From the same source and perhaps even more from the study of Prussian-German history Meinecke derives his high regard for the state, an esteem which has not been shared by natives of *laissez faire* political communities. Since Hegel, idealism has been slowly retreating. Marx hit it with such force that German historians have had actively to defend their idealism against historical materialism. Meinecke gives ground by placing material factors prominently among the causal things and confessing that the spirit must overcome difficulties and that

it seldom succeeds. But the ideal persists, even though Meinecke, unlike Hegel, is not sure of its ultimate victory. In him thesis and antithesis do not always merge into an ideal synthesis. But Meinecke longs for them to do so and seeks in the past evidence to support his faith.

A historian who examines his materials for values runs the danger of subordinating the *is* to the *ought*. Hegel, in spite of his extraordinary historical knowledge, succumbed to this temptation and shaped his philosophy of history to his own pattern. It must not be thought that Meinecke in turn imitates him. Meinecke never moralizes or writes pragmatic history. He has succeeded in combining the finest qualities of Hegel with those of Ranke. He unites the philosophy of history with the careful methods of historical research. He uses the latter to objectify and strengthen the former; he makes philosophy impart meaning to the facts and lend a general significance to the study of history. By clothing the ideal in historical individualities as Ranke did, he gives it a much larger variety of forms than the philosopher was able to do. The ideal proves to have real, functional existence. But history also benefits. It acquires a standard of values. Meinecke rejects the loose, old-fashioned philosophies of world-history along with the unphilosophic, causal, factual history; to the benefit of both history and philosophy he draws a few carefully weighed generalizations of universal consequence from a limited amount of carefully weighed data. In a sense he fuses and culminates these two lines of German thought, philosophy and history, using each to deepen an understanding of the other.

Meinecke accepts the historian's social responsibility to his own age. He defends his ideals against the undermining currents of nationalism, materialism, and mechanism, against subjectivity and easy relativity of standards. He exalts the individual to the essential role of prime mover of history, and he fears that collectivism will destroy the sources of idealistic

action by crushing individualism and that belief in mechanical causality will produce pessimists unwilling to assert themselves as personalities or to grapple with the fates. So he pleads for the retention of the German humanistic ideal, which enables the individual to cultivate all his capacities and to become an intellectual aristocrat of the finest social type. Meinecke's fight against mechanistic philosophy is reflected in all his work. He seeks to prove that man's soul and mind establish goals and direct the material powers of nature. By adding the history of values to that of causality he provides evidence of the power of the spirit and shows how vital the individual has been in shaping the course of the world. Ideas, spirit, culture—these are the supreme things; let the materials of Marxism and Spenglerism and utilitarianism be subordinated to their due position. Not man but his spirit is the measure of all things. To the Germans and to Meinecke the irrefutable evidence of this truth was established by the Prussian rebellion against Napoleon when the Idealists enhanced power by spiritualizing it. For maintaining a strong state and for fulfilling the purpose of God in the world, the retention of the humanistic training as a means of creating personalities seems vital to Meinecke.

In the defense of the humanistic ideal of personality Meinecke is also fighting for the preservation of historicism, since historicism serves as the basis for the other. Their fate is identical. The intimate connection becomes apparent from Meinecke's answer to the question, What can history offer for the development and enrichment of personality? This problem, he maintains, has grown directly out of the fear that personality is being destroyed by collectivism. The problem is one which the nineteenth century did not need to face. After recommending the study of causality for practical values, Meinecke writes:

The finest of history's lessons is that one which proceeds from the evaluation of historical individualities. . . . Their peculiar value is im-

portant also for us. It consists in nothing else than a confirmation of the infinite creative power of the spirit which, indeed, does not guarantee us even progress but, within the limits of nature, does insure an eternal rebirth of valuable historical individualities.⁵⁵

By connecting them all causally and making world-history into an individuality, this idea of history gives personality to the nation, state, or society and reveals their roots. "This consciousness," Meinecke continues, "can develop the strongest ethical powers." He realizes, however, that only vigorous persons can appreciate and learn from historical individualities. In the weak the study of history can destroy all capacity for originality. With respect to them he admits the justice of Nietzsche's fulminations. But to the stout in heart and mind history gives all those things which make them stronger. It is the meat, he says, for leaders like Bismarck and Stein, who derive from it encouragement, a sense of mission, and solace. They learn from it that fate can be overcome by the powers of the spirit, that "a world can be built for one's self within the world of iron causality." The frail man will deduce from history that its entire course was prescribed; the full-blooded will perceive in it the same combat between freedom and necessity as that in which he is engaged; historical individualities will nourish him; whereas they will be concealed from the weak and will give him nothing but poison. The one will learn from the past that, since values are relative, each age and each person must seek out those which best assist him to achieve the good, the beautiful, and the true. It will learn, in Troeltsch's words, that "value relativity does not mean relativism, anarchy, accident or arbitrariness; it signifies the constantly moving, creating combination of the existing and should-be which can never be regarded as timeless or universal." Or, as Meinecke adds, it is nothing else than "individuality in an historical sense, a temporary unique expression, valuable in itself, of an un-

⁵⁵ *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, p. 49.

known Absolute in that which is relative and bound by time and nature."⁵⁶ The little person will succumb to the anarchy which historism creates in his own small mind. He will suffer in this as in all other respects from the limitations of his own endowments; for he interprets history in terms of his own character.

The theory of value history and its concrete expression in *Ideengeschichte* attest to Meinecke's keen mind and sensitive appreciation. Nonetheless, in defending his ideals, he falls victim to the eternal lot of man: he can be dated. The standards which he upholds belong essentially to the society of pre-war Germany. Idealism, individuality and personality, and intellectual, aristocratic education are all part of the system by which the upper classes maintained their domination. In the *semilaissez faire* period of smug security, one could look contentedly for manifestations of the spirit in history; one could attribute to individuals the moving force in events and could consider that personality which the German humanistic education produced as the only one capable of acting for the sake of cultural values. In this society the professor associated with the aristocracy of birth and power which he educated according to his ideals. Value history, *Ideengeschichte*, presented materials which an intellectual aristocracy would accept and enjoy. It afforded evidence that spiritual values did exist and that the aristocracy created them. In trying to hold back the waves of collectivism and materialism from these ideals, Meinecke was protecting the *status quo* against the mounting threat of future masters. He was seeking to preserve for the society of the future the best of its past. Furthermore, the choice of his subjects for intensive study is significant. In the one volume he tended to set Bismarck's method and plan of unification as the culmination of a process; in the second he was inclined to justify German *Machtpolitik*; and in the third he sought confirmation of the

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

German idealistic view of the past. In all he served as an apologist. He avoided a thorough analysis of topics, like the theory of natural law or of rationalism, which would have disclosed the solid beneficial elements guiding so-called western European action and setting them off against German historicism. He admits the need for seeking general laws and for establishing types; but he prefers to contemplate the unique. Probably he would call the history of the concept of natural law a historical individuality.

The inclusiveness of Meinecke's theory of history makes it difficult to criticize. Within its sheltering arms almost any type of historical research may be justified, if for no better reason than that it enhances our knowledge of causality. It sanctions the study of economic and social history as well as that of culture. Nevertheless, value history, especially in the form of *Ideengeschichte*, seems to make historical things too intellectual, too aesthetic; it seems to add so much complexity to already complex data as to make the reader turn away in disgust. Also it inclines toward making men the puppets of ideas, the very antithesis of that for which it is intended. And it tends to develop among its addicts a penchant for casuistry. In it even the irrational finds a rationalized place.

If Meinecke had done more with social and economic data, he might never, except for the very important factor of personal inclination, have written *Ideengeschichte* or recommended so strongly the history of cultural values. Value history can be most easily written about ideas. Values are found in social and economic materials; but there they are more causal or functional than cultural. The historian should not forget that both kinds of values exist—that, even from the point of view of values, causality history is often as important as cultural. A knowledge of these causal values enables the student to estimate the kinds of social controls and objectives possible in his world.

Cultural value history should be used to enhance the comprehension of the historical individuality; it is unworthy of reducing the other elements to subordinate members of a train. For example, Meinecke regards personalities as the sources of action in history. I presume that they are the springs of action in the same way that the electric current is in the machine. The question may be stated in another way: What value would the current have without the machine or the individual without the society in which he functions? Likewise if a group, nation, or state can be a historical individuality, why cannot it as a unit, instead of the individual persons composing it, be a source of action? Why cannot collective bodies be as influential as their particular members; why cannot an institution, an economic order, or a productive system exert a compulsion of its own upon the human beings within it? In other words history seems to show that collective bodies are often as significant, both causally and culturally, as individual persons.

The weakness of value history becomes apparent when Meinecke's own form of it is weighed against the forces of his time. Among the purposes which he sets for historical study is the practical one of assisting the age to understand itself and of preparing the individuals for their new tasks. Does *Ideengeschichte*, or the history of cultural values, satisfy these needs? It does so only in part. Causally the economic, social, and institutional forces are of enormous importance; yet by this theory of value Meinecke damns them as rooted in nature and hence earthy and sinful. The question is, Should the historian condemn such tremendous powers, such fundamental parts of life? Moreover, value history tends to focus attention on the narrow line of battle between the mechanical-biological forces in history and the spiritual-ethical ones, between good and evil. Although it need not do so, it inclines the historian to neglect the material conditions of life in favor of the spiritual, to fail to portray life as it functions, to flee

from reality into culture. Cultural values rank higher than causal values; the study of history tends to become contemplative rather than functional.

Furthermore, Meinecke admits that our age is striding toward collectivism. It is a time of vital economic, social, and institutional changes. One would expect Meinecke, according to his own criterion of the historian's social usefulness, to work in materials which would elucidate these kinds of problems. One would expect him to esteem the significance of collective bodies more highly, to use more economics, sociology, and cultural anthropology, to explain how a given society functioned, and to portray it in process—to study the history of a society as a whole. Yet he fails to adjust his methods to these things. He writes *Ideengeschichte*, lauds the individual, and defends the ideals of a passing age. Is he not consigning the historian to the position which he fears for him of social insignificance? The great age of German historiography had a definite philosophy and a positive, practical program for which to work. The bourgeois German historians, like Meinecke, have no such definite conception of life; they are shy about assisting in forming the socialized age.⁵⁷ Their history cannot compare for vigor with that of the Marxians who satisfy both conditions for able although biased historical study. A comparison between *Ideengeschichte* and Trotsky's magnificent *History of the Russian Revolution* will show what is meant. The one is superintellectual; it portrays the complicated course of an idea through the works of personalities not pale in themselves but made so by this method. Trotsky's volumes teem with intellectual astuteness and tremendous

⁵⁷ "Leave us this quiet retreat [he writes]. We must bear the fact that, in order quickly to satisfy its hunger for synthesis, the modern spirit desires stronger and more highly spiced nourishment than careful, methodical, historical investigation can offer it. We must also put up with the fact that much talent, enticed by the charms of modern ephemeral culture, is lost to knowledge. . . . We are assured of a sufficient line of succession; we are above all certain of the justice of our stand" (*Preussen und Deutschland*, p. 470).

pictures of action, of personalities, mobs, institutions—all the stuff of life. The contrast should not be pushed, for it is unfair to set the two kinds of work alongside each other. The one smells of lavender, the other stinks of blood.

Criticism of Meinecke's theory and practice of history should not extend too far.⁵⁸ The chief objections rest upon a difference in emphasis and in the level at which historical work should be executed. The conscious addition of the concept of value to historical criteria restores the union with philosophy which in the nineteenth century proved so fruitful. It deepens greatly the idea of process in history. *Ideengeschichte* especially reveals the processes and their diversity of content and number. Where Hegel and Marx perceived one dialectic and the usual historian of causality finds a vague sort of chronological process the deeper nature of which he hesitates to investigate, Meinecke shows how profoundly useful for the study of the past the concept of process can be. In this way he makes it possible for the historian astray in a morass of facts to revive the synthetic method. He searches out the nature of the process and its ideological distinctive-

⁵⁸ In the review which Beard and Vagts have written of Meinecke's *Die Entstehung des Historismus* the authors assert: "Something more is required than the methodology of the author of *Die Idee der Staatsräson*" (*American Historical Review*, XLII [April, 1937], 477). They relegate historicism to about the year 1900. Then they draw "certain conclusions useful for practice" by the present-day historian. With all of these remarks, except in one respect, Meinecke would heartily agree. The only point of difference between Beard and Vagts, on the one hand, and Meinecke, on the other, is that Meinecke believes that an idea can under rare circumstances free itself from particular interests and these authors do not (see p. 479 of their review). Each view is ultimately based upon faith. My own criticism of Meinecke's theory is one more of the tendency, the possible effect, than of the theory as such. Perhaps Beard and Vagts fail to reach Meinecke's sensitiveness of perception—a criticism which an aesthete or mystic like Meinecke could make of any rebel against his views; or, more likely, they judged Meinecke on the basis of *Die Entstehung des Historismus* alone and not on that of his theory of history as a whole. Meinecke's theory is much more inclusive than his practice would indicate, and his method is more flexible. I find a great deal of his technique of *Ideengeschichte* in Vagts' own work, and I feel that, except for the possible limitations of mortal flesh, Meinecke would be quite willing to approve *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik*.

ness and arranges his material in such a way as to portray the historical individuality of this process. The study of contemporary theories should enable the historian to disclose the idea of the process which in conjunction with the chief events provides a basis for synthesis. Meinecke justly asserts that theories can be employed far more for illuminating an age than historians have realized. When the nature of the process is established, the historian will find that much greater selectivity of material can and must be exercised. That is to say, data from various branches of knowledge must be used in order to reveal the full individuality of the process. The study of a historical dialectic requires more devotion to the understanding and appreciation and less dependence upon pure memory and muscular research. It brings out the many relations of past and present which causal-chronological history leaves concealed. It should intensify the study of causality or of functional history of any kind. Even if for no other reason, Meinecke's theory deserves consideration in that it holds out a hope of satisfactory historical synthesis. Although he himself has provided no example on a large scale, his value theory and his conception of an idea and of a dialectic contain the germs out of which synthesis may be made. That is a task for present-day historians.

The study of history is faced with two grave dangers: it may become a mere weapon in the social conflicts carried on in the present age or it may retire proudly into the Elysian fields with the classicists and other humanistic scholars. Meinecke seems personally inclined to fall victim to the latter danger. But by following the leads which he offers, without losing its degree of objectivity, history may perhaps be revived as a social influence. Let us recapitulate the most important of his suggestions: to restore contact with contemporary society and to help it to understand and solve its problems; to revive an appreciation of values; to broaden the scope of historical study; and particularly to synthesize by

enriching history with ideas and with philosophy. History and philosophy, these twins of synthesis, each different from the other, each necessary to the other, have parted company. Meinecke would revive their intimacy. He would reunite causality with general ideas. History, like philosophy, is both socioscientific and humanistic and in its finest achievements it should unite these approaches. Meinecke is trying to restore this union. Whether it can be done is not yet clear. If the explanation which he gives for the excellence in the last century of German historiography is correct, one must confess that the prospect is not bright. Historical study still lacks a practical purpose in life such as Droysen had in achieving German unification, and it fails to accept a philosophy like that of German idealism. How can one write historical synthesis in this fluid age of value relativity and uprooted social and political ideals? How can vigor be restored to historical study? Meinecke's theory offers assistance, although certainly no final answer. A practical refutation of it has been given by the National Socialists. The future of history would seem to depend upon the course which society itself will take.

JUSTUS MÖSER'S APPROACH TO HISTORY

*

WILLIAM J. BOSSEN BROOK

WHEN Voltaire indicated that the object of his historical study was "to know so far as I can the manners of peoples and to study the human mind; I shall regard the order of succession of kings and chronology as my guide but not as the object of my work"—he presented the general program of the historiography of the eighteenth century.¹ History was to be freed from the "ballast of antiquarian detail" and was in turn to free the human reason from the bondage of theology and superstition. It aimed to reveal the various obstacles and restrictions which had prevented the free expression of reason in the past. The objective of the historian was therefore not to present a description of historical development but to analyze historical phenomena so as to distinguish the incidental from the significant and the transitory from the permanent in terms of the increasing enlightenment of the human reason through the progress of the arts and sciences. This conception of history was directed both against the "erudite annalism" of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and against the older theological interpretation which received its classic expression in Bossuet's great work.²

During the second half of the eighteenth century there emerged, particularly in Germany, a conception of history

¹ Quoted in J. B. Black, *The Art of History* (London, 1926), p. 34.

² B. Croce, *History: Its Theory and Practice* (New York, 1923), p. 244; E. Cassirer, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Tübingen, 1932), pp. 292-98.

which represented a departure from the Voltairian point of view. The transition from a type of history in which moral and philosophic reflections with regard to the past played a preponderant role to a conception of historical development which sought its principle of explanation in the process itself was made especially by Winckelmann, Lessing, Möser, and Herder.³ While the Voltairian school, including such historians as Schlözer, Schmidt, and Spittler, was mainly concerned with the production of manuals and textbooks, it is significant that Winckelmann, Möser, Lessing, and Herder stood outside academic circles and were therefore less influenced by the methods of the old, erudite, annalistic history which had persisted longer in the schools and universities of Germany than elsewhere.⁴ In terms of actual historical writing the work of these historians appeared fragmentary and incomplete, certainly as compared with the great achievements of the French and English historians of the Enlightenment. To a considerable extent this was due to adverse conditions in a land where provincialism and particularism were dominant and foreign cultural influences in the ascendancy. They were, however, the pioneers of a national cultural revival in Germany which represented a reaction both against the rationalism of the Enlightenment and against the dominance of French cultural influences.

The role played by Justus Möser (1720-94) in this cultural revival and more specifically in the shaping of a historical attitude of mind is less well known than that of the others. This is principally due to the fact that his career and historical work were definitely circumscribed by the boundaries of the small German ecclesiastical principality, Osnabrück. In it he spent practically the whole of his life, the

³ See F. Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates* (5th ed.; Berlin, 1919), p. 136.

⁴ Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1925), pp. 371-97.

longest period of absence being an eight months' sojourn in England. His principal historical work, the *Osnabrückische Geschichte*, and his numerous essays all reflected particularly the conditions and interests of his local environment.⁵

In the little North German principality of Osnabrück, with an area of about forty-five square miles and a population of about 120,000, medieval political and social institutions had persisted almost unchanged into the eighteenth century.⁶ Prince-bishop, cathedral chapter, *Landtag*, independent burghers, free and servile peasantry—all suggested the Middle Ages. The estates had retained much of their political vitality, and there existed a more intense political life than in most of the highly centralized monarchies of Germany. The struggle of the estates with the prince-bishops, some of whom attempted to make themselves absolute, the conflict in interests between the estates, and the rivalry of Protestants and Catholics for public office offered unusual opportunities for the legal talent which was abundant in the principality. Thus there developed in the upper bourgeoisie a juristic patriciate which monopolized the more important offices in the administration of city and bishopric.⁷

The family of Justus Möser had risen to prominence within the circle of this patriciate during the eighteenth century. Möser was therefore destined for a legal career. Following attendance at the universities of Jena (1740-41) and Göt-

⁵ Karl Brandi, "Justus Möser," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CCXXVII (1932), 56; Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927), III, 248.

⁶ See Justus Möser, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. B. Abeken (10 vols.; Berlin, 1858), I, 321-23. Further citations to Abeken's edition of Möser's works will be made by volume and page only.

⁷ O. Hatzig, *Justus Möser als Staatsman und Publizist* (Hanover, 1909), p. 8; Gustav Schöttke, "Die Stände des Hochstifts Osnabrück unter dem ersten evangelischen Bischof Ernst August von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1662-1698)," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Landeskunde von Osnabrück*, XXXIII (1908), *passim*; Bruno Krusch, "Justus Möser und die Osnabrücker Gesellschaft," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Landeskunde von Osnabrück*, XXXIV (1909), *passim*; V, 5.

tingen (1742-43), influential connections and evident capacity contributed to his rapid rise through a series of offices from that of legal representative of the nobility to that of judicial adviser of the Hanoverian government during the minority of Bishop Frederick of York (1763-83).⁸ Since he also retained his position as legal representative of the nobility, representing thus both government and estates, he virtually became the ruling force in the administration of the principality.⁹ The influence which these multifarious contacts exerted upon Möser are reflected particularly in his publicist labors. From 1766 to 1782 he edited the *Wöchentlichen Osnabrückischen Intelligenzblätter* to which he contributed to the end of his life numerous essays, sketches, dialogues, and letters, later published under the title *Patriotische Phantasien*. The *Phantasien* cover a wide variety of subject matter—serfdom, education, literature, government, art, etc. They portray the interrelationship of law, economic conditions, religion, literature, and art in the state and society of Osnabrück and reveal the realistic and empirical attitude of mind of Möser.

While the gradual development of a distinctly empirical and positive point of view by Möser may be attributed particularly to widening practical experience, the changing in-

⁸ The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) had given the bishopric a rather peculiar constitution. It provided that the bishop should be alternately a Catholic prince and a prince from the Protestant house of Brunswick-Lüneburg. From 1724 to 1761 there was a Catholic prince who was succeeded by a representative of the Hanoverian house; that is, the second son of King George III of England, Frederick of York. Leo Körholz, "Die Wahl des Prinzen Friedrich von York zum Bischof von Osnabrück und die Regierung des Stiftes während seiner Minderjährigkeit" (University of Rostock dissertation [1908]), pp. 56-58.

⁹ Life by Nicolai in Möser, *Werke*, X, 13-35; fragment of autobiography, *ibid.*, X, 86-88; see also Krusch, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-80, 292, 298; Hatzig, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Concerning the burdens of administration placed upon him, Möser wrote as follows: "Ich stehe bei der hiesigen Regierung, die mit zweien fremden Geheimen Räthen aus Sachsen und Hessen besetzt ist, mütterseelen allein, habe also alle Resolutiones anzugeben und zu entwerfen, die sich monatlich über 50 belaufen, und das nimmt mir einen Haufen Zeit weg, ohne was ich in meinen andern Departements thun muss" (X, 167).

tellectual atmosphere in Europe in general, and particularly in Germany, exerted a great influence on him. During his youth both in the home and in the society of Osnabrück he had come under the influence of the rationalism and sentimentalism promoted by the widespread popularity of French literature in early eighteenth-century Germany.¹⁰ In a letter written to a friend in 1785 he especially stressed the successive influence of Marivaux, St. Evremont, Voltaire, Abbé Coyer, and Rousseau on his literary and intellectual development.¹¹

While interest in Coyer and especially in Rousseau marked a turning-away from his early sentimentalism and rationalism, they were not the most important formative factors which contributed to that change. Their influence was perhaps more negative than positive; his later essays show a definite reaction against the ideas of Rousseau. The most positive influence came from English literary and intellectual sources which exerted an increasing effect in Germany from the middle of the eighteenth century on.¹² Möser's *Patriotische Phantasien* and his *Osnabrückische Geschichte* both reflected an extensive knowledge and admiration of things English.¹³ The widespread interest in English literature, thought, and social and political institutions among the leading men of his day, the political connections of Osnabrück with the Hanoverian

¹⁰ See A. Köster, *Die deutsche Literatur der Aufklärungszeit* (Heidelberg, 1925), pp. 107-9, 142.

¹¹ He wrote: "Ich hatte meine ersten Schulübungen nach Marivaux gemacht, meinen St. Evremont mehr als zehnmal durchgelesen, und nach französischen Mustern gearbeitet; das machte mich in der Moral zu fein und fast spitzfindig. Nachher studierte ich nach Voltaires, und gab in seiner Manier ein Schreiben über den Character Martin Luthers und seiner Reformation heraus. Allein ich merkte bald, dass seine Manier ihm allein wohl stand, und dass man seinen ganzen Geist haben müsse, um sich nach ihm zu bilden. Eine Zeitlang gefiel mir der Abbé Coyer; und zuletzt zog mich Rousseau ganz an sich" (X, 190).

¹² L. M. Price, *English-German Literary Influences* (Berkeley, Calif., 1919-20), I, 157-59, 189-97.

¹³ A. Wiedemann, "Geistesgeschichtlicher Querschnitt durch Justus Möser's Erziehungsideen" (University of Erlangen dissertation [1932]), pp. 8-15.

house, and Möser's visit to England were the most potent factors which explain his interest in that country. In the semimedieval institutions of his local environment he saw many resemblances to those in England.

Furthermore, Möser's empirical approach, derived from practical experience, had received sympathetic formulation in the thought of such English philosophers as Locke and especially Shaftesbury. Their influence also reached him through Pope, Richardson, and others.¹⁴ Möser showed little interest in and aptitude for philosophy, and his ideas were not set forth systematically. Since they were so definitely conditioned by local environment, it is difficult to determine what in his thought was original and what was borrowed. It was his practical experience which gave unity to his attitude of mind, which was thus very far removed from any mere academic eclecticism.

While Möser followed the intellectual development of the Enlightenment in general in the direction of a more empirical approach, he also shared the opposition of the *Sturm und Drang* to the intellectualism of his age and consequently had a better appreciation of the irrational elements in human behavior. The current of sentimentalism which increased in strength in the eighteenth century, and which influenced Möser through Marivaux, St. Evremond, Richardson, and finally Shaftesbury and Rousseau, was reflected in his early essays. It must be recognized that even Voltaire contended that the passions, enthusiasms, and egotistic impulses of man were essential to the progress of the arts and sciences.¹⁵ To Möser the passions were "beneficent storms," and following Shaftesbury rather than Socrates, who was the hero of the popular philosophers of the time, Möser placed the heart above the mind as the source of virtue.¹⁶ He took issue with

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-21, 47-51; IX, 21.

¹⁵ Cassirer, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹⁶ IX, 21. He said with regard to the passions: "Ehe die Tugend unsere Schritte lenkte und die Vernunft unseren Pfad bereitete, waren sie da. Wir fühlten Mitleid,

Voltaire in the latter's estimate of Luther as a man in whom a passionate temper and ambition contributed to the sowing of religious dissension. Möser contended that Luther had vitalized religion for the masses, a much greater contribution than to bring new truth to the learned.¹⁷ However, as a historian he tended to regard human nature from the point of view of the realistic statesman for whom passions and sentiments were the plastic materials which he molded to suit the needs of state.

The *Sturm und Drang* or *Geniebewegung* (ca. 1765-85) proceeded from the unity of the thinking, feeling, and willing individual to an understanding of the universe as a living organism. It assumed a literary and aesthetic approach toward man and society rather than a scientific and abstract one.¹⁸ While Möser certainly shared this approach and impressed the *Genies* with the vigor and force of his style and with his social and political ideas, in temperament he had little in common with the young enthusiasts of the movement.¹⁹ By the time of the *Sturm und Drang* he had already attained maturity and unity of outlook; he belonged to an older generation, that of Winckelmann, Lessing, and Kant. Most of the *Genies* were afflicted with an inner discord rising out of the conflict between a great enthusiasm for experiencing life and the inability to do so owing to the hampering political and social circumstances which prohibited a life of practical achievement. Since Möser's rise up the ladder had

ehe die Religion uns lehrte, barmherzig zu sein, und die notwendigen Reizungen der Schönheit erhielten den Beifall unserer Empfindungen, ehe der Verstand ihren Werth untersuchte" (IX, 13).

¹⁷ V, 217, 222, 226.

¹⁸ Köster, *op. cit.*, p. 237; H. A. Korff and W. Linden, *Aufriss der deutschen Literaturgeschichte nach neueren Gesichtspunkten* (3d ed.; Leipzig and Berlin, 1932), pp. 126-35.

¹⁹ As Goethe said, referring to Möser: "Ein solcher Mann imponirte uns unendlich, und hatte den grössten Einfluss auf eine Jugend, die auch etwas tüchtiges wollte, und in Begriff stand, es zu erfassen" (quoted in X, 107).

been facilitated by the existing arrangements in Osnabrück, he had no quarrel with those arrangements. He was too much the practical man of affairs to appreciate the idealism of the *Genies*; their aspirations were too high flown to suit the practical and realistic temper of his mind.²⁰

While he shared Rousseau's skepticism with regard to the faith of the Enlightenment in the contribution of the arts and sciences to moral progress, he did so from a different point of view. He wrote:

It has appeared to me for some time that the war which Rousseau declared against the scientists was the same which a great many candid men had for long waged against luxury; for all sciences whether theological, juridical, medicinal or philosophical are a luxury of the soul which could be most injurious to the countryman and inhabitant of small cities.²¹

It is apparent that Möser was concerned with the welfare of a particular group or class rather than humanity or man in the abstract. He ridiculed a father who, following the example set forth in *Emile*, "permitted his son to be educated philosophically, with bare feet on the stones and without a hat in the rain."²² Education was to be practical to fit the individual for his position in society either as noble, merchant, artisan, or peasant. These to Möser were the productive classes as over against the scholars or intellectuals. "Learned men," he declared, "have invented nothing; it was always the artisan and the practical man. . . . The cry against barbarism is the catchword of the learned quack who wishes to sell his own pills."²³ There was an inherent weakness in the approach of the intellectual "who out of his own window can scarcely survey the nearest field yet desires to construct a world map."²⁴ As a consequence, the intellectual

²⁰ Möser said: "Die jungen Genies wissen die gemeinsten Sachen nicht anzugreifen, sie sind allumfassend und allzugewaltig, besitzen Horn- und Stosskraft, wollen die Natur gebären helfen, und können kein Protocoll fassen" (IV, 93). See Hans Baron, "Justus Möser's Individualitätsprinzip in seiner geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXX (1924), 49.

²¹ X, 105.

²² III, 240.

²³ V, 36.

²⁴ IX, 166.

overlooked individual differences and attempted to cast people into one mold. This was Möser's main criticism of the eighteenth-century philosophers.

Möser's empiricism, however, with its interest in the individual and the particular was not merely matter of fact; it was joined to an intuitive approach which sought to grasp social and political phenomena as totalities. This recognition that unity must be sought in the interconnection and interrelationship of diverse individual moral, religious, social, and political circumstances not merely was the product of Möser's administrative and juristic experience but was also due to the influence of Shaftesbury's aesthetic and ethical conception of "inward form and structure."²⁵ Unity was to be sought not in uniformity but in the very multiplicity of social and political phenomena by viewing them as totalities. The tendency toward excessive analysis so prevalent in the eighteenth century merely led one, according to Möser, from one supposition to the other and from part to part. The practical man of affairs did not analyze but grasped the whole as a totality, thus as his experience widened he added total impression to total impression instead of dealing with abstract and clearly defined ideas and rules. Möser illustrated this approach in one of his sketches by comparing it with that of the wine dealer who, in discussing aesthetic appreciation with the members of a literary club, contended that it was simply a matter of experience like a fine appreciation of wine, which is not derived merely from climate or from religion but from "having frequented cellars from youth on and from having tasted many varieties of wine."²⁶

This totality conception of Möser's was reflected in his attitude toward the reform movements of his day in morals, education, religion, and social and political matters. He opposed vigorously the setting-up of a general code of ethics

²⁵ Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-70; Cassirer, *op. cit.*, pp. 424-27.

²⁶ IV, 11-27.

such as the popular philosophers desired. To establish uniform rules of conduct meant disregarding the infinite diversity of human temperament, character, calling, social position, etc.²⁷ Fine distinctions in morality did not appeal to him; all that was necessary was for the ensemble to appear right. Like Shaftesbury, he contended that the natural human desire to appear well in the estimation of others had been more productive of good sentiments and conduct than moral purism.²⁸ Möser likewise upheld Christianity as against the natural religion recommended by the Deists. He doubted whether the latter would provide "chains for rogues, powerful incentives for the weak and timid, solace and comfort in suffering, counterweights against tyrannical princes," etc.²⁹ Man was a creature who must believe as well as know, and Christianity had developed in response to the diversity of human needs.

Möser also defended the variety of social and political forms characteristic of the semimediæval constitution of Osnabrück against the leveling tendencies which he saw in the policies of enlightened despotism and in the political theory of Rousseau. He compared the state to a pyramid which had its base in the soil and rose gradually from peasantry through middle class and nobility to the princes at the peak.³⁰ Each estate had its own peculiar functions and needs. He followed Montesquieu in maintaining that an independent nobility constituted the most effective bulwark against despotism. Each city and each peasant community had its own peculiar needs and knew best how to deal with them and should, therefore, be largely self-governing.³¹ "In the ideal constitution," he declared, "one descends by gradual stages from the throne downward, each stage having its own kind of honor which remains peculiar to it; the seventh has the same right to its preservation as the second."³² To promote *Standesehre* Möser advocated the formation of corporations

²⁷ IV, 43-44.

²⁸ V, 307.

²⁹ V, 231.

³⁰ II, 252.

³¹ II, 25.

³² I, 115.

such as the medieval guilds.³³ He objected, therefore, to the establishment of legal equality by such measures as the framing of a uniform penal code, by abolishing serfdom, and some of the legal discriminations against illegitimate children. The new legal codes, he contended,

depart from the real plan of nature which manifests its richness in variety and multiplicity; they prepare the way for despotism which desires to bring everything under a few rules and thus runs counter to nature. . . . The more simple and uniform the laws, the more despotic and lifeless the state becomes.³⁴

To Möser, state and society presented an organic character; in the very diversity of forms he perceived unity, each form having its individual function and thus contributing to the harmony of the whole. Reforms were not to be made according to abstract principles but by careful adjustment to changing conditions, by meeting each need as it arose. Laws and institutions should therefore develop out of the historical experience of a people; hence, Möser's insistence upon the preservation of custom and tradition which represent continuity of development.

Möser's interest in the conservation of the existing social and political setup determined to a considerable extent his conception of historical development. He was concerned with demonstrating that social and political forms were rational responses to changing needs and that, when they had once become a part of the body politic, they could not be ruthlessly severed from it without endangering the structure as a whole. The body politic did not represent a mere mechanical unity whose parts might be changed at will; it adjusted itself as a whole to changing needs in the same manner that the human organism developed new skills and capacities. He contended that

one can demand from the body politic as from the human body not only normal capacities but also artistic or technical skills; these can be de-

³³ See I, 373.

³⁴ II, 21, 22.

veloped only if one begins with the child and thus gradually brings them to perfection. No skill can be created at once; it is easier to make a cripple out of a stiff old man than a rope dancer.³⁵

The significant feature of Möser's approach to history was that the totality conception enabled him to go beyond the annalistic point of view peculiar to most of the contemporary historians of German constitutional development.³⁶ Mascov and Büнау were content with presenting noteworthy occurrences as the substance of historical development. Pütter contended that "historical occurrences were like the links in a chain, varied in importance according to the degree of influence exerted upon the whole."³⁷ This point of view was the product of an analysis of constitutional development as a series of individual acts of monarchs and princes. Möser's comment on Pütter's work was that "it might be compared to a snake whipped into a hundred pieces, the portions of whose body are dragged along merely by virtue of the fragments of skin which connect them."³⁸ In its place he advocated "history in the form of an epic" in which great contending forces were presented.³⁹ In the beginning of the history of a country

³⁵ V, 204.

³⁶ Viz., Johann Jakob Mascov (1689-1761), *Geschichte der Deutschen bis zu Anfang der Fränkischen Monarchie* (Leipzig, 1726); see Waldemar Goerlitz, "Die historische Forschungsmethode Johann Jacob Maskovs," *Leipziger Studien aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, VII (1909), 1-70; Graf Heinrich von Büнау (1697-1762), *Genaue und umständliche Teutsche Kaiser- und Reichshistorie* (Leipzig, 1728-43); Johann Stephan Pütter (1725-1807), *Teutsche Reichsgeschichte in ihrem Hauptfaden entwickelt* (Göttingen, 1778).

³⁷ Pütter, *op. cit.*, p. iv.

³⁸ Further, this type of historical narrative "wird immer wechselseitig steigen und fallen, und oft seine Verbindungen und Uebergänge so kümmerlich suchen müssen, dass auch das Colorit eines Schmid's in seiner Geschichte der Deutschen nicht hinreicht" (IV, 152). Michael Ignaz Schmidt (1736-94) was professor of German *Reichsgeschichte* at Würzburg and Vienna. He was the author of a *Geschichte der Deutschen* (1778 ff., 1785 ff.) extending to about the middle of the seventeenth century. He followed in the footsteps of Voltaire and Robertson. According to Fueter, he was "der erste deutsche Historiker der Aufklärung, der sich an das grosse Publikum wandte" (*op. cit.*, p. 376).

³⁹ V, 76-79.

certain great forces were arrayed against one another. Depending upon peculiarities of land and people, they produced a form of government; for example, monarchy, democracy, or republic. These attained to a certain completion or perfection then weakened and declined. Möser noted that in France the monarchy was thus far victorious, in England the nobles and freeholders, and in Germany the bureaucracy (*Kronbedienten*). The development of each presented a historical whole within which there were periods which, taken by themselves, also assumed the form of epics. A period should therefore not be made to coincide with the life of a dynasty, such as was the practice of the contemporary writers of *Reichshistorien*, but should include an entire constitutional transformation. Periodization according to dynasties and the reigns of emperors and kings might suffice, Möser thought, for the student who needed a clear sense of chronological order; but it would not satisfy one who had a feeling for design and form.⁴⁰ Just as Winckelmann had written a history of Greek art rather than a history of Greek artists, Möser would write a history of a constitution rather than one of rulers and lawmakers.⁴¹

The changes in the German constitution can be understood only, Möser further contended, if we trace the history of the original contract on which it was based. The association formed under the original contract resembled, he assumed, a commercial company. The first shareholders were the "common landowners." Later, owing to changing economic conditions, the holders of money capital were admitted to the "state company." The contractors were interested not merely in the guaranty of abstract human rights but in the protection of a real interest; that is, property, because it was the basis of their independence and freedom.⁴²

⁴⁰ It was even a poor pedagogical device for "der Hofmann, der immer erst einen langen gothischen Klostergang durchwandern soll, ehe er in das Cabinet des Prälaten kommt, verliert oft unterwegs seine best Laune" (IV, 149).

⁴¹ Fueter, *op. cit.*, p. 390; Dilthey, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

⁴² V, 177-203.

Möser justified the assumption that the original contract was based upon the "liberty and property" of the "common landowner" by the contention that it served the historian in the same way that the assumption of a straight line served the mathematician. All historical transformations were to be regarded as approaches to or departures from this ideal line.⁴³ He assumed, therefore, that in the original contract certain fundamental principles of the political and social order were established for all time. These principles served as a norm for evaluating later constitutional changes and as a co-ordinating factor in giving all a structural unity and an inward form.

Möser's interest in the past and particularly in the Middle Ages was also determined by antiquarian and humanistic interests. While still under the influence of Gottsched, he had contributed to the latter's *Neuen Buchersaal* excerpts from *Der Ritter St. George in einem Aufzuge* by a certain Reinbot von Dorn. At the time he proposed publishing a general collection of medieval German poetry up to the end of the fifteenth century, but lack of leisure prevented the realization of this ambition.⁴⁴ Möser's interest in medieval literature was shared by Herder, Goethe, and many others of the *Sturm und Drang*. The popularity of MacPherson's *Ossian* and Percy's collections of popular poetry revealed the increasing interest in the literary heritage of the Middle Ages.⁴⁵ This "rediscovery," which began in the eighteenth century and reached its culmination in the romantic movement, represented in Germany a reaction against pseudo-classicism, against the dominance of French culture and the rationalism of the Enlightenment.

⁴³ VII, vi.

⁴⁴ X, 205-7. See also H. Schierbaum, "Justus Möser's Stellung in den Literaturströmungen während der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts" (University of Münster dissertation [1908]), pp. 30-33.

⁴⁵ Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-59; G. Salomon, *Das Mittelalter als Ideal in der Romantik* (München, 1922), pp. 16-21; P. Joachimsen, *Vom deutschen Volk zum deutschen Staat* (2d ed.; Leipzig and Berlin, 1920), p. 42.

A landmark in the revaluation of the Middle Ages was the *Blätter von deutscher Art und Kunst*, which Herder issued in 1773. In it Herder discussed *Ossian*, the popular poetry of ancient peoples, and Shakespeare; Goethe dealt with the cathedral of Strassburg; and Möser provided a portion of the *Vorrede* to his *Osnabrückische Geschichte*. Herder saw reflected in the popular poetry of the Middle Ages the old German spirit whose revival was essential to the creation of a German nation; a people must, he thought, develop its own peculiar qualities by drawing upon its past.⁴⁶

Möser also saw the true German national spirit reflected in early Germanic times. In a review of F. K. von Moser's *Von dem deutschen Nationalgeiste* (1765) Möser contended that Moser was inclined to see nothing but "princes and servants" in Germany and that his work should rather be entitled "The Spirit of the German Courts."⁴⁷ At court, he contended, one will not find the patriot but only the "hired scholar, the cringing lackey and the obsequious courtier."⁴⁸ He shared the skepticism of Lessing and Herder as to the existence of a German nation.⁴⁹ Where is it to be found, he asks?

Certainly not at the courts; in the cities one finds only mistaken and damaged copies; in the army, trained machines, and in the country, oppressed peasants. The time when each Frank and Saxon cultivated his own patrimony, defended it in person and thus had the right of attending the national assembly . . . could reveal to us what a nation is.⁵⁰

In reply to Frederick the Great's *De la littérature allemande* (1780), in which he had made very disparaging remarks as to German literature and had suggested that turning to French models might have a salutary influence, Möser contended that a great literature must develop out of great national and heroic experiences. These were lacking in Germany because

⁴⁶ Salomon, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-31; Joachimsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45.

⁴⁷ IX, 242.

⁴⁹ Meinecke, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁴⁸ IX, 243.

⁵⁰ IX, 241.

there was no active political life and, therefore, no national feeling. "The State," he said, "goes its way machinelike under the guard of standing armies; we seek honor almost wholly either in service or in learning" and "there is no Curtius among us who will cast himself into the abyss for the maintenance of the imperial system."⁵¹ Frederick's achievements in the Seven Years' War, he pointed out, had contributed greatly toward arousing a national spirit in Germany.⁵² Furthermore, the literary achievement of the English was much the greater and more deserving as a model. The French presented "the way of uniformity and poverty in art, expressive of a refined taste and the so-called good tone." On the other hand, the English way was "the way to multiplicity and variety which the Almighty Creator has opened to us."⁵³ In England the humblest individual made the general welfare his concern, and satires, comedies, and even sermons were concerned with state affairs.⁵⁴ He admired the English constitution because in its parliament he saw a guaranty of freedom and the representation of property. He agreed with Montesquieu that the Anglo-Saxons had brought this spirit of freedom with them from the German forests.⁵⁵

Möser's interpretation of the constitutional development of Germany, and in particular of Osnabrück, was determined therefore by the tradition of old Germanic freedom. The fundamental idea of this tradition was that political freedom was peculiarly the heritage of a particular group of peoples—that is, the Germanic group—and that this Germanic freedom was derived from the primitive German state. In the seventeenth century Conring, the historian of law and constitutional development, decisively broke with the doctrine of the *translatio Imperii*; that is, the transference of the empire from the Romans to the Germans. The old Roman Empire, he contended, had been destroyed by the Germanic peoples, and Charles the Great had acquired the imperial

⁵¹ IX, 139.⁵² See IX, 156.⁵³ IX, 146.⁵⁴ III, 90.⁵⁵ VI, 29.

crown by force; it was not conferred either by the papacy or the Roman people. Conring also assumed that the original Germanic states were democratic but that continued wars had introduced aristocratic and monarchical elements.⁵⁶ Montesquieu gave new meaning to the conception of Germanic freedom. He contended that there was a natural urge toward freedom in primitive peoples which was peculiarly expressed in the old Germanic institutions. The English constitution with its division of powers was based on a conception of freedom which went directly back to early German times. In other European countries he saw mixed constitutions historically the product of the admixture of feudal and monarchical elements to the early Germanic institutions.⁵⁷ The influence of these ideas, especially those of Montesquieu on Möser, is particularly evident. In opposition to the great bureaucratic and military monarchies of his day his ideal was that of a state in which free self-determination was expressed without a great state machine or organization. This state he discovered particularly in early Germanic times, which he called the "golden age."⁵⁸

There existed for Möser a definite link with the early Germans in the Saxon peasantry of his own day. He was of the opinion that Tacitus' description of the early Germans still applied in the main to the peasantry of Osnabrück.⁵⁹ It is probable that the "innate and rock-ribbed conservatism" of this peasantry in clinging to ancient customs and to a particular plot of land suggested the core of his theory of the contract that citizenship must be based upon some real factor, particularly land, if the state was to have solid foundations. Also, it may be said that the conservative political instincts of this Saxon peasantry were reflected in Möser. Even as they had opposed in the early Middle Ages feu-

⁵⁶ E. Hölzle, *Die Idee einer altgermanischen Freiheit vor Montesquieu* (München and Berlin, 1925), pp. 34-40.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-12.

⁵⁸ VI, x; V, 85.

⁵⁹ IX, 204, 208-9.

dalism, truce of God, *ministeriales*, and outsiders such as Swabians, Bavarians, Flemings, and others, so Möser opposed absolutism, humanitarianism, bureaucracy, and the dominance of French culture.⁶⁰

Like Rousseau, he saw in a free peasantry the core of the nation. The country and not the city, as he pointed out again and again, was the source of the vitality of a nation.

The social pyramid [he contended] tends to decay first at the peak. The higher one goes the more one finds weakness and evil; the sons of princes degenerate early in order that their children may not become a burden to the state; the young nobles follow the example of their superiors and it is generally said that great men rear bad children. Health, diligence and strength are continually rising from the bottom toward the top; these iron virtues of the lower portions of the pyramid daily push multitudes of persons toward the peak where they die and fall off like decayed branches; the great metropolis is continually being populated by the solid rural classes.⁶¹

A real history of Germany should therefore concern itself with the changing fortunes of the "common landowners." "The history of Germany," Möser contended, "would acquire a new significance if we viewed the common landowner as the real body of the nation and followed his fortunes, regarding both higher and lower servants as either good or bad accretions to that body." His criticism of the German history previously written and particularly exemplified in the current *Kaiser- und Reichshistorie* was that it was too much concerned with the "life and activities of the physicians . . . without thinking of the ailing body." "The influence of laws and customs, virtues and faults of rulers, bad and good measures, commerce, money, office, nobility, language, opinion, wars and alliances" on the "common landowner" particularly as they affected his "liberty and property," were to be the theme of his history.⁶² The history of the arts and

⁶⁰ See James Westfall Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), p. 182.

⁶¹ II, 252. In another connection he made the following statement: "Zu viel Fürsten, zu viel Adel, zu viel Gelehrte sind der Ruin des Staates" (V, 37).

⁶² VI, ix-x.

sciences was of importance to Möser, in contrast to Voltaire, only in so far as it had an immediate influence upon constitutional development.⁶³

It was generally assumed by constitutional historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the freedom enjoyed by the early Germans was, in the words of Büнау, that of "unbridled license."⁶⁴ Möser, however, attributed to the early Saxons the tendency to form associations such as the *Mark* and *Gesammbürgerschaft* or *Mannie*. In the formation of the state, he contended, "they followed the same plan" which they had followed in the formation of the other associations.⁶⁵ The implication was that all associations including the state were of the same species and were constructed contract fashion in an ascending series with the state as the culmination. He thus proposed a theory of corporative association and political pluralism which went back to Althusius and received more complete formulation later by Stein and especially by Gierke.⁶⁶ Möser, however, thought of these associations in terms of a commercial company—that is, voluntary and easily dissolvable—rather than as corporations having each a distinct personality or *Gesamtgeist*.

Möser's corporative conception as applied to early German constitutional development represented a reaction both against the omniscient state of the great bureaucratic and military monarchies and against the individualism of the natural law theories of his age. The isolated individual as conceived by Rousseau would be absolutely helpless, and the subject of a despotic monarch lacked spirit and energy.⁶⁷ He emphasized particularly the lack of compulsion involved in

⁶³ VI, xxii.

⁶⁴ Hölzle, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁶⁵ VI, 37.

⁶⁶ See Otto Gierke, *Johannes Althusius und die Entwicklung der naturrechtlichen Staatstheorien* (2d ed.; Breslau, 1902), pp. 256–63.

⁶⁷ He said: "Der Staat, worin der König ein Löwe und alle übrigen Einwohner Ameisen sind, wird niemals einige Reizung für mich haben; nur der, worin man aus der Hütte zum Throne auf sanften Stufen gelangt, und nächst dem Könige noch Männer sind, die Rechte haben" (I, 25).

the formation of each association. The associations were formed in response to some economic or political need, and, although to be excluded involved a social stigma, each free landowner entered of his own free will.⁶⁸ The activity expressed in and through these associations gave a dynamic character to the body politic. The state, he contended, should be in a continual condition of fermentation in order that the happiness and welfare of its citizens might be promoted.⁶⁹ Only through associations which were the expression of self-help and collective action could the nation achieve greatness and guard against despotism. According to Möser, the later Middle Ages, the period of the *Faustrecht* and of the *Hansa*, was the great age of the development of corporations in the cities, of leagues of cities and princes, of leagues for the maintenance of the *Landfrieden*, etc. The *Faustrecht* represented to him "a work of art of the most perfect style," and he referred to the period of the greatness of the *Hansa* as "the golden age of German commerce."⁷⁰

While Möser believed that certain early German institutions, such as the peasant associations for the common and peaceful utilization of wood and meadow, had persisted in Osnabrück since early Germanic times, he also recognized feudal and monarchical elements. This mixed constitution was the product of the conflict between the principle of association based on "liberty and property" and the tendency toward monarchy.⁷¹ Like Montesquieu, he attributed this tendency toward monarchy especially to large aggregations of peoples. Numerous wars had led to the formation of great confederations among the early German tribes and had laid the basis for the extensive empire of Charles the Great.⁷²

The "liberty and property" of the early Germans or Saxons

⁶⁸ VI, 37. "Die Verbannung war auch hier Alles; und jeder Staat war oder hielt sich nicht weiter berechtigt."

⁶⁹ III, 89.

⁷¹ VI, xxi.

⁷⁰ I, 340, 395.

⁷² VI, 106, 107, 110.

were particularly represented in two institutions—the national assembly and the *Heerbann* or national militia. Both institutions were based on the free co-operation and equal participation of the free landowners. Möser recognized, however, the existence of inequalities in the early German state. There were the various classes of dependents who did not possess a free portion of land and were in the service and under the protection of the free landowners. Also, there were the nobles who were distinguished from ordinary landowners by greater possessions and by the valuable privilege of maintaining a war band. Möser ascribed to this last institution a most important role. Out of it there grew a military organization based on service to an individual which came to compete with the *Heerbann*, based on free ownership of land. He contended that the “consequences of this dominated the whole course of history.”⁷³

The most important factor in the transformation of the old Germanic constitution was, therefore, the decline of the *Heerbann*. The old *Heerbann* had been intended only for the defense of the fatherland from external foes. With the increase of wars of an offensive and extended character, especially under Charles the Great and his successors, military enterprises were more and more carried out by the war bands. As a consequence, more and more the old “honor” based on the contribution of the free landowners toward the common defense disappeared and was displaced by “honor” based on service. This transformation had the greatest social significance. Since the mass of free owners with the decline of the *Heerbann* no longer contributed to the general defense in person, they were subjected to various dues and taxes which tended toward servile tenure and serfdom. Many who showed capacity for and were inclined toward military enterprise entered the service of the emerging military aristocracy and, as the vassals and *ministeriales* of the latter, acquired

⁷³ VI, 55.

lands which they held under various forms of feudal tenure.⁷⁴ With the breakup of the Carolingian Empire public authority was absorbed by the great lay and ecclesiastical landowners. As a consequence, public authority gradually assumed the character of a superior type of private property which stood over and above land and developed later into territorial sovereignty.

The free ownership of land was thus transformed into a multitude of feudal and manorial relationships beginning with the fiefs of the rising military nobility and extending to the various forms of peasant servile tenure. The original "liberty" or self-government based on free ownership of land became transformed as a consequence into a complicated system of relationships based on protection and service.⁷⁵ Later, as feudalism no longer sufficed for the military needs of the rising territorial powers, mercenary and standing armies came into existence. Military service thus ceased to be a matter of defense of home and land and became a mere matter of venal interest. As a consequence, new sources of revenue had to be discovered which led to the modern system of taxation and made necessary a new constitution under which each individual became a citizen by virtue of the fact that he was a subject.

It is apparent that the general character of German constitutional development as interpreted by Möser was determined by his conception of the state as a mercantile association, more specifically as a joint-stock company. The state as one among various associations had as its specific object the defense of the property and persons of its members. The basis of membership was at first landed property, later the holders of money capital were admitted. Increases in population, restrictions on migration, and growing trade and commerce led to changes in membership and in the character of the obligations required. By virtue of the emphasis he placed

⁷⁴ See VI, 68-71, 316-32.

⁷⁵ VI, xi-xvi; see also 192-219, 285-302.

on property and its relationship to public burdens, Möser was able to bring all aspects of the life of the community into one great structural synthesis revealing the interaction of political, social, and economic factors.

In this synthesis all the phases of the life of the community—religion, art, and literature as well as agriculture and commerce—were conceived as subordinate to the needs of the state association. To be really pragmatic Möser felt history should teach politics; that is, it should present the natural history of the original contract on which the state association was based and not the growth of ideas or the development of the arts and sciences. He opposed using history as a vehicle for communicating moral truths as the educators of the Enlightenment, for example, Basedow, desired.⁷⁶

The rationalistic element which persisted in Möser's approach to history is thus apparent. He viewed religious institutions and customs as the creation of rulers, lawgivers, and priests not to deceive the people but to meet particular political and social needs.⁷⁷ Religion did not appear in his historical writing as an independent force; he regarded it almost exclusively as a political instrument or adjunct.⁷⁸ Institutions and laws, therefore, were the product of deliberate adjustment to changing needs. Möser was inclined to see in the figures of history the reflection of his own ideal of the intelligent, realistic statesman who abhorred all general theories of human rights and abstract principles of conduct. He approached old customs and institutions with the idea that the "ancients were after all not fools," which implies that he attempted to place himself in the position of the fathers to determine what reason moved them to create this or that

⁷⁶ X, 117. ⁷⁷ See discussion of the religion of the early Germans (VI, 42-50).

⁷⁸ This is evident in the following statement: "Die Noth [hat] vernünftige Menschen in ihren Erfindungen geleitet. Und welche Erfindungen? Ruhe, Freundschaft, Liebe und viele andre gesellschaftliche Tugenden zu besondern Pflichten zu heiligen, eine Gottheit da einzuflechten, wo sie fühlten, dass die natürlichen Bande reissen möchten" (V, 247).

institution.⁷⁹ He was aware that each age had its own peculiar problems and appropriate solutions not to be measured merely by the yardstick of the present.

Möser was empirical and realistic in avoiding the general practice of the historians of the Enlightenment of introducing moral and philosophic reflections with regard to historical facts. Furthermore, his administrative experience led him to regard institutions from the point of view of their mutual dependence and their practical working rather than of their conformity to an abstract set of principles. He evaluated events on the basis of their appropriateness in a consistent whole as well as on the basis of the evidence of the sources.⁸⁰ Since the latter provided only fragmentary information with regard to the early development of Germanic society, it was often necessary to give support to the constitutional edifice by hypothetical buttressing. By so doing, satisfactory form and design could be given to that structure. It was this emphasis upon unity of form which represented the most original feature of Möser's approach to history.

Möser exerted a varied influence on the historians of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—a fact which may be attributed in part to the fragmentary character of his writings and in part to the form they assumed, a form which appealed very little to academic groups. It was also due to the diverse intellectual currents which affected the development of nineteenth-century historiography.

The historians of the historical school of jurisprudence, especially Eichhorn and Savigny, were attracted by Möser's veneration of early Germanic institutions and his recognition that laws and institutions should be gradually adjusted to changing needs rather than fundamentally revised on the basis of abstract principles.⁸¹ Riehl, the founder of the later

⁷⁹ V, 144.

⁸⁰ See VI, 69.

⁸¹ Friedrich Carl von Savigny, *Vom Beruf unsrer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft* (3d ed.; Freiburg, 1892), pp. 9, 69, 78; R. Stintzing and E.

Kulturgeschichte, praised Möser for his revelation of the unique character of the common man. Riehl's historical genre, which resembled many of Möser's *Phantasien*, described the more homely and picturesque features of the life of peasants and lower bourgeoisie.⁸²

It was a romantic interest in early German and medieval institutions and customs and in folkways in general that accounted for the interest in Möser taken by the founders of historical jurisprudence and of *Kulturgeschichte*. However, it was his historical realism which made the greatest impression upon Niebuhr. Certain similarities in background undoubtedly contributed to a similarity of approach. Niebuhr's childhood and youth were passed among the free peasantry of the province of Dithmarsch; he spent several years in the public service of Denmark and Prussia, interrupted by a long visit to England. In striking contrast to his antipathy for the French was his admiration of the English and of the English constitution. Just as Möser had attempted to reconstruct the early Germanic constitution on the basis of analogies derived mainly from contemporary conditions in Osnabrück and from English constitutional development, so Niebuhr drew on the latter and on agrarian conditions in the Dithmarsch in the reconstruction of the early Roman constitution. Although both placed the constitutional development in the foreground, they did not exaggerate the importance of political and legal forms, as the later liberal historians did, but gave particular attention to the influence of economic and social factors. For Möser and Niebuhr the influence of the changing social texture was more important than a specific national character or folk soul which was the determining factor in

Landsberg, *Geschichte der deutschen Rechtswissenschaft* (3 vols.; Munich and Leipzig, 1880-1910), Part II, p. 497; Gunnar Rexius, "Studien zur Staatslehre der historischen Schule," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVII (Berlin, 1911), 525.

⁸² W. H. Riehl, *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Sozial-Politik* (3 vols., 9th ed.; Stuttgart, 1894), I, 12-14; Fueter, *op. cit.*, pp. 567-69.

constitutional development in the estimation of the founders of historical jurisprudence.⁸³

Möser's approach to history, therefore, anticipated the two dominant tendencies of nineteenth-century historiography—the romantic veneration of old institutions and practices and the realist attempt to explain their development in terms of concrete and positive causes.⁸⁴

⁸³ Barthold Georg Niebuhr, *Römische Geschichte* (3 vols.; Berlin, 1873), I, 251–77, II, 150; Moriz Ritter, *Die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft* (München and Berlin, 1919), pp. 318–20, 331; Fueter (*op. cit.*, pp. 468–70) especially emphasizes Möser's influence on Niebuhr, whereas Ritter (*op. cit.*, pp. 314–32) places greater emphasis on the independence of the latter's approach and conclusions.

⁸⁴ Friedrich Meinecke's *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, with its penetrating chapter on Möser's historical approach, and Peter Klassen's comprehensive study of Möser did not become available until after this essay had been written. Their interpretation of Möser's historical approach does not differ in the main from that presented here.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, HISTORIAN

*

RAYMOND C. MILLER

THE career of historian was the first to which young Roosevelt, newly graduated from Harvard, turned his attention. He had considered the life of a naturalist, but reasons either sentimental¹ or temperamental² led him to abandon it. Probably it was a fortunate decision, for the earlier impulse came more from a healthy love of outdoors and an extension of his boyhood collecting habits than from any real interest in science as such. The older naturalist-philosopher on the bank of the lily pond was giving place to the scientist-technician with his laboratory and his microscope, and for that Roosevelt had no taste. He chose history.

He knew little or nothing of this new field—not enough to recognize that this same transition was occurring there. The masters whose gallant treatment of great sweeps of history, the Bancrofts, the Parkmans, were giving place to craftsmen of a different sort. Even in Roosevelt's day in Harvard, the seminar in medieval history which Henry Adams had instituted, preceded and echoed by similar work elsewhere, was a clear indication of the change, and the organization of the American Historical Association so soon thereafter shows how widely spread was the idea that history was not a ranging field for individual literati but a realm of human knowledge to be developed by the co-operative work of individual specialists.

These things the young graduate did not know. He had

¹ Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York, 1931), p. 44.

² *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (New York, 1927), p. 25.

avoided the Harvard seminar as he had avoided the laboratories; in his Sophomore year he had had one course in history, which had little effect on his historical career. From some outside source, however, he developed a personal interest in the naval aspects of the War of 1812, and when graduated he had already done some work on the subject. It dragged on, interrupted by some perfunctory study of law, a little dabbling in practical politics, and a honeymoon in Europe.

In 1882 *The Naval War of 1812* was published and provoked no sensation; Roosevelt himself subsequently referred to it as being "dry as a dictionary."³ The style is choppy, excessively nautical, sometimes almost unintelligible, and marked with frequent and not always well-mannered contradictions of other authors; the tiresome repetitions of conclusions and lessons justify the author's worst criticisms. More serious flaws appear in the organization; a clear recognition of the purpose or objective of a navy in the war would offer not only a standard by which its success could be measured but also a meaningful plan about which the account could be organized. This book has no such coherence and remains a disorganized story of a succession of individual encounters, unrelated except in time.

The original purpose seems to have been to write a companion work about the war on land.⁴ Abandoning the idea as not worth doing, Roosevelt appended to the *Naval War* one chapter on the Battle of New Orleans which contradicts all these criticisms. It is a swift, graphic, vigorous narrative of a battle which roused his interest, provoked an avowed partisanship, and stimulated him with its setting and importance. The account is clear, the style simple and direct, and the entire story is moving and dramatic.

In *The Naval War* the sources used were to some extent secondary, especially on the English side, though the author

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22. ⁴ *The Naval War of 1812* (3d ed.; New York, 1883), Preface, p. iii.

made the effort to obtain from the Navy Department such material as was available and took time from his honeymoon trip to gain access to some British material. The form of documentation, if it leaves something to be desired, is still understandable.

The next two works, *Thomas Hart Benton* (1886) and *Gouverneur Morris* (1888), both in John T. Morse's "American Statesmen" series, lack formal documentation altogether. The greater part of the first was written at the ranch house of the Bad Lands, by the author's own confession largely in a period of three months, and shows prominent evidence of the careless haste with which it was produced. Nowhere in the book does the author discuss his sources, but aside from general knowledge he seems to have depended almost exclusively on Benton's political autobiography.⁵ The volume on Morris is more carefully prepared, and the author used, in addition to Morris' own published writings, a little monographic material and some manuscripts.⁶

The Winning of the West is the most pretentious historical production Roosevelt attempted. The years between the first volume (1889) and the fourth (1896) mark the limits of his

⁵ Roosevelt to Lodge, June 7, 1886. "Now I hesitate to give him [Benton] a wholly fictitious date of death, and to invent all of the work of his later years. Would it be too infernal a nuisance for you to hire some one on the *Advertiser* . . . to look up, in a biographical dictionary or elsewhere, his life after he left the Senate in 1850? He was elected once to Congress; who beat him when he ran the second time? What was the issue? Who beat him, and why, when he ran for Governor of Missouri? and the date of his death. . . . As soon as I can get these dates I can send Morse the manuscript."

Evidently Lodge sent the information with a horrified letter of protest, for the next Roosevelt letter, of June 19, promised not to send the manuscript; he only "wanted to get it so far done that a week's hard work when I get East near the Public Libraries would finish it" (*Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge* [2 vols.; New York, 1925], I, 41-43).

⁶ Morris MSS were not available; the Jay and Pickering collections are mentioned. In a letter to Lodge, who had suggested the Pickering papers, dated August 20, 1887, Roosevelt asked whether they were published and, if not, whether Lodge could have copied the letters from Morris among them. A letter two weeks later (September 5, 1887) announced that the book had just gone to Houghton Mifflin Co., publishers (*ibid.*, I, 58 and 59).

most vigorous research. He used the considerable body of documents published by the government, some archival material, and a number of private and semipublic collections of papers and manuscripts. It was manifestly impossible for him in so few years to become a complete master of the field on which he chose to write, but the work was a pioneer task, opening up an area in history which was important, and the performance of the task was more than creditable.

In these same years Roosevelt was working on a brief history of New York, which may be dismissed, and a biography of Oliver Cromwell, which is of equal importance. The last volume mentioned (1900) marked the close of the purely historical work of the man who so soon thereafter became president.

It is an astonishing list of books. Since 1880, in twenty years, Roosevelt had written his *Naval War*, three biographies, a four-volume history of the West, two other historical works, and at least three volumes on hunting and ranching.⁷ It is a list so extensive as to sound like the work of an industrious lifetime rather than the product of a man forty-three years old; but this remarkable individual found time also to be New York legislator, civil service commissioner, assistant secretary of the navy, governor of New York, and to fight in five presidential campaigns and one war.

Haste and frequent superficiality in the work were inevitable, of course, but there are flashes of insight and brilliance of understanding which are as unexpected as they are penetrating. In the day when historical convention described the Revolution as a struggle of the all good against the all bad, Roosevelt discovered a revolutionary America, discordant and disunited, in which the cleavage was more often than not social or economic, and in which good men were torn in the agony of conflicting loyalties.⁸ That the

⁷ A number of magazine articles appeared subsequently in book form.

⁸ *Gouverneur Morris* (Boston, 1888), chaps. ii-iv.

right cause triumphed inevitably, Roosevelt leaves one no doubt; but behind the conventional conclusion there is presented a glimpse of a stratified America which a more leisurely worker would have followed to important results.

When he wrote his *Benton*, American history was still under the shadow of the Civil War, with its emphasis on the national division north and south, and on the enlargement of the slavery struggle.⁹ Roosevelt correctly argued that slavery as an issue did not appear before the fifth decade of the century and, refusing to make Benton either northern or southern, talked of him and his West as distinct and different from either. So sharp is the statement, so definite is the description of western characteristics, that one cannot resist wondering whether this work may not have been the conscious or unconscious suggestion which directed the thought of Turner into his fruitful studies of the West as a section.¹⁰ These and similar suggestions indicate an unconventionality of approach and a flair for stimulating generalization of a high order: Roosevelt's failure was the failure to test and confirm through adequate research and to correlate and complete into a reintegrated whole.

Frequently, indeed almost by compulsion, the choice of a topic by a historian carried implicit in it an interpretation of history which underlies and colors his entire work. When Roosevelt wrote *The Winning of the West*, it was not a mere local or sectional history he had in mind, and certainly not an addition to local antiquarian lore. He had caught a glimpse, foreshadowed in his *Benton*, of the role of the West in American history, and his major work was dedicated to that West and the nation it would explain.

⁹ See, e.g., the opening chapter of James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York, 1893), Vol. I.

¹⁰ It is not intended here to suggest that the essentials of the Turner ideas are to be found in Roosevelt's work. Roosevelt emphasized the individual so strongly as to make his history almost biographical episodes and could not thus sense the larger implications of western characteristics which Turner emphasized.

The greatness of the American nation, as he saw it at the close of the century, was the result of the westward movement of the people, and their conquest of that vast region. That concept, once accepted, enabled Roosevelt to cut himself clear from the ties of political history and opened the way for a complete reorientation, if he could make it. His was a story of people, not government. Government did nothing for them. Even the matchless American political institutions¹¹ aided not at all, for in the early years a kind of perverted blindness to needs and possibilities handicapped the actions of the Federalists, and, after the turn of the century, authority was in the hands of the spineless Jefferson and his successors.

Roosevelt sensed, somehow, the importance of the West, but between that uncertain and almost intuitive hint and the completed concept of a West within the framework of a national development lay a chasm too broad to be crossed by mere inspiration. The only relationship of this West to the United States, as he developed it, was the mere physical expansion of the geographic limits; in place of a conquest directed from Washington and politically explained, he described a conquest directed from nowhere and unexplained.

Unsupported, the pioneers moved into the dangerous distance of Kentucky and Tennessee, fought their battles, and lived their lives, as unconscious of their import as were their contemporaries, but with the destiny of the nation in their hands. The westward movement was a folk movement, a nineteenth-century migration of a German tribe, a new Norse conquest; behind it was only the drive of the inevitable.¹²

The result was foredetermined. Titular claims to at least

¹¹ Earlier he expressed the belief that American sailors were better material because of the freer institutions of their country (*The Naval War of 1812*, II, 203).

¹² "It [the winning of Louisiana] followed inevitably upon the great westward thrust of the settler-fold; a thrust which was delivered blindly, but which no rival race could parry, until it was stopped by the ocean itself" (*The Winning of the West* [New York, 1889-96], IV, 262).

part of the region rested in three European nations, but governments with their conversations and diplomatic engagements are present only in the background, belatedly confirming in the transfer of title what the movement of conquest had already made an actuality. The claim of the Indian, except when vigorously defended in battle, is here brushed aside. The race was doomed, and only a quibbler would worry over where or how destruction came; Roosevelt was not one to talk of morals to destiny.

Thus treated, *The Winning of the West* was the work of the extreme frontier alone, and the account was reduced to the story of the doings of those local and sometimes half-mythical heroes by whose daring some minute point was held or some lives rescued. The construction of government as told is purely a local venturing under local leadership. Those larger implications, the creative impacts of social and economic forces generated in the West back upon the United States as a whole, Roosevelt did not see. It is the absence of any real idea of the role of the West which reduces the first two volumes to a series of microscopic biographies, almost as episodic as *The Naval War*, with only the uncertain unity given by time and geography.

The third and fourth volumes, covering the period after the Revolution and particularly after the Constitution, include in the narrative the settlement north of the Ohio. It is perhaps true, as Roosevelt suggests, that there was a larger measure of governmental direction in this settlement and thus a greater degree of order to it, but that is not the chief reason for the improved coherence of the history. There was a larger amount of monographic work available, and Roosevelt used it freely, to the noticeable improvement of his own work.¹³

But even with this aid, the account remained a narrative

¹³ In *ibid.*, IV, 220, Roosevelt referred to the work of Professor Frederick A. (sic) Turner, of the University of Michigan (sic).

of events essentially heroic. Perhaps Roosevelt was conscious of the weaknesses of the first work; but, if so, the effort made to improve it did not take the direction of more careful study with limited and supportable generalization. He only transferred his drama to a grander stage. The fourth volume opens with a long discussion of those race characteristics which make for empire-building, bestowed freely and positively, and with illustrations and comparisons impressed from his wide reading to prove the permanent validity of assertions made.

The people that for one or more generations finds its allotted task in the conquest of a continent, has before it the possibility of splendid victory, and the certainty of incredible toil, suffering, and hardship. . . . As it is in a battle, so it is in the infinitely greater contests where the fields of fight are continents, and the ages form the measure of time. . . . Of those who venture in the contest some achieve success: others strive feebly and fail ignobly. If the race is weak, if it is lacking in the physical and moral traits which go to the makeup of a conquering people, it cannot succeed. . . . The task must be given the race just at the time when it is ready for the undertaking. . . . Even a strong race, in its prime, and given the task at the right moment, usually fails to perform it. . . . Only the most far-seeing and high minded statesmen can grasp the real weight, from the race standpoint, of the possibilities which to the men of their day seem so trivial.¹⁴

Here, indeed, was the skeleton of an epic. Whole races fought and suffered for the dominion of a whole continent and for a victory which only subsequent ages could understand. It was no mere local affair, with individual contests and heroes; it was larger even than the nation. Cleveland had only recently defied the British power in the Venezuela affair; Cuba and its excitements were current topics; men were talking of Hawaii and the Pacific. The nation was moving out of its accustomed place to play on the world-stage a new and active and perhaps a controlling role. In this heady prospect, the work of those men who had made the West and the nation

¹⁴ *The Winning of the West*, IV, 1-6. The Preface to this volume is dated May, 1896. For Roosevelt's attitude on America's destiny, see Pringle, *op. cit.*, pp. 166 ff.

took on a new importance. The epic of the West broadened until all mankind was involved, its future hanging breathless on this American venture, and its fate tied in the outcome. American history, as Roosevelt read it, was no paltry affair.

This interpretation, striking though it was, probably colored his work less than those convictions and attitudes of which he was less aware. The world to which the young historian introduced himself was filled with certainties. There had been problems of a political nature in the past, it is true, but the war and its associated contests had settled them, and all correctly. The days to come might bring troubles, but they would not invoke intellectual uncertainties, and all would be solved if men had intelligence and honesty enough to think them through along the paths which the intellectuals, of whom Roosevelt was one, were eager to point out.

Indeed, that was his function as a historian.¹⁵ History had as its task so to unfold the truth about the past that its lessons would be learned; they were lessons of a direct and immediate nature, and, when Roosevelt pointed them out, he wrote large so that no man could miss them. The obligation resting on the historian was to find and tell the truth, of course, and Roosevelt poured scorn on those men who, calling themselves historian, perverted their work to special pleading. That was the trouble with so many men with whom Roosevelt disagreed. His distress at this evident error was equal to his disdain of those "small men in the universities" who, pretending in their preposterous association that their work was "scientific," refused to find lessons at all, or who insisted that the lessons found were purely subjective, read into the facts at the will of the historian.¹⁶ Roosevelt knew better, for history as he studied it showed clearly the universality of the lessons to be learned—lessons which by fortunate

¹⁵ *The Naval War of 1812*, Introd., pp. iii and xxiii.

¹⁶ Joseph B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time* (New York, 1920), II, 140.

coincidence were those most needed by contemporary American society.¹⁷

The ideas were those of his contemporary liberals, translated in whole from English and Continental sources and publicized here most completely and purely by Curtis and Schurz and, above all, by Godkin of *The Nation*. The economics were those of the enlightened British school; individual enterprise, operating in a freely competitive society, responded to "laws" which were as understandable but as inevitable as those which ruled the swing of the planets or the movements of the tides. The laws of business—by which the intellectual meant no man-made statutes—were thus akin to those "laws of nature" by which the scientific seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had sought to rule its conduct, and perchance even to peer into the purposes of the infinite. In business, as in physics, they were inexorable, but, fortunately for mankind, they operated with such harmony under the beneficent foresight of Providence as to produce the "just" distribution of economic rewards and the ultimate good of mankind.

Laissez faire was thus a comfortable doctrine; those business men who gave hardly a grateful thought to the doctrine were freed from all limitation and responsibility by it, and the guardians of the public good were relieved of the necessity of battling on this particular front. If these new-found laws fought inevitably on the side of public good, what was there for reformers to do but keep the road clear and prevent artificial and inevitably unwise interference with destiny.

In government the British liberals had to trust their fortunes to some broad-base franchised group as the foundation

¹⁷ Roosevelt knew he was right in his personal contest with the Mugwumps, and his *Benton* proved the correctness of his position. "It was not written to please those political and literary hermaphrodites, the Mugwumps" (Roosevelt to Lodge, February 15, 1887, *Selections*, I, 51).

When the quarrel became more bitter and personal and the renegades deserved more pointed denunciation, he wrote to Lodge (July 11, 1889): "I am going to try to drag in something of the sort into my volume on New York" (*ibid.*, I, 83).

of their constitutional institutions, but they did it with obvious reluctance inspired by fear of democracy. In America the tradition of democracy was translated slowly but smoothly into a tradition of constitutionalism, and the political institutions cushioned the shock of too much democracy. The complex federal system, the cumbersome and delaying check and balance system, the written constitution, all promised procrastination and even inaction. The Supreme Court was a wonderful comfort to timorous democrats.¹⁸

Thus economic laissez faire and political constitutionalism were the foundations of American liberalism. When evils appeared, and the decades before Roosevelt had had their share, they were explained to the satisfaction of the believers by the failure not of their principles but in the application of their principles. The leaders of men, the "scholars in politics" whose task was to point the inevitable way onward, understood clearly the road to reform and progress. Reform meant return to those fixed principles when the nation wandered and a holding fast to them when error threatened.

The field of politics was the field of reform, for here, unfortunately, flourished most of those pernicious panaceas by which embittered farmers and laborers sought to improve their lot, in ignorant disregard of this economic law and its ultimate justice. Reform would fight them off, sternly and implacably, whether the demand for wages above the level set by supply and demand (and no tinkering with that supply by unions or strikers), for monetary juggling, or for special tariff protection. Thus it was said, government, separate from business, would give no favors in the competitive struggle.¹⁹

¹⁸ This doubt of democracy, as reflected by Roosevelt, appears in *Morris*, pp. 344-45.

¹⁹ Roosevelt persistently expressed this idea when he talked of the "duty" of public officials as if their acts were completely disassociated from any economic connection and operated in a separate sphere. The concept of duty is, of course, highly subjective and can hardly be assumed as clear or definite under all circum-

But that program of disassociation demanded in government men of honesty and intelligent foresight and gave small comfort to those who saw contemporary politics with open eyes. If government itself was corrupt, there was small hope left for disinterested aloofness in economic dealings. A cynic might forthwith have abandoned democracy as hopeless, but the liberal could no more do that than he could abandon *laissez faire*, and he must hold that the trouble lay in some interference with the working of constitutional democracy. Casting about for the evil influence, the reformer hit on the political boss and made his elimination the basis of the program which would restore government to its sphere and permit economy to work out its good.

The merit system of political appointment might bring incidental benefits in economy and improved civil service, but far more important than either was the removal of the patronage from the boss and the cutting of the foundation from beneath the whole political machine. The entire arch of reform depended on this keystone, and this explains the tremendous emphasis which reformers place on it, in the day when to the casual observer other things seemed more important. It even justified the final point in reform politics, independency in voting, though that part was perhaps hardest of all. But if a boss ruled one party, with dishonesty apparent, special privilege flaunted, and the merit system scorned, inevitable logic drove reformers to the ultimate necessity of independency.

Theoretical free trade, or at least tariff reform, sound money, civil service reform, unhampered competition, and independency in voting—these are the ideas of the liberal, and to them young Roosevelt gave unquestioning acceptance. It is not surprising that they should be the lessons which history taught him as eternal verities.

stances alike. One illustration of this naïve use of the word appears in *Thomas Hart Benton* (Boston, 1886), p. 72.

But the young politician-historian did not live in complete isolation from the rest of the world. The student of political affairs from the safe seclusion of the academic study, or the editorial chair, could maintain such positions regardless of events, but the active participant who made politics a deliberate life-profession came into contact with external realities so forcefully that he was compelled to reconsider those eternal truths in the light of his own experiences.

In New York, before his progress in politics had carried him beyond the state legislature, Roosevelt had been a member and at least once a speaker for a free-trade club. But the tariff, though not a dominant issue, ran as a disturbing note through the campaign of 1884, and the rising politician allowed his contacts with the club to lapse. Pringle implies that it was merely a clever about-face, deftly accomplished before damage was done,²⁰ but it was more than that. Almost immediately after the campaign, he wrote his *Benton*, and the discussion of the tariff has in it a new note.²¹ Elsewhere he dashed off sweeping generalities, pronouncements of right against wrong in cavalier style, but on the tariff, even when South Carolina nullifiers appear to add emotional attitudes, the treatment is a careful statement of rival interests involved, with such a balancing of opinion as to make the contest almost one of right against right. The young historian had been thrown into the necessity of just such a decision, not in the abstract but in real politics, had discovered the nature of the conflicting pressures out of which decisions must come, and had lost the certainty of eternal rightness. History ceased to teach him much about the tariff.²²

That same campaign of 1884 destroyed another conven-

²⁰ Pringle, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

²¹ Chap. v.

²² Roosevelt, *Oliver Cromwell* (New York, 1900), p. 183. As president he wrote to Lodge (April 27, 1903) that the tariff was "a matter of expediency" only (*Selections*, II, 7).

tional notion of liberalism for him—the acceptance of independency as a method. Blaine's personal record seemed to mark him as an object of special detestation to the reformers, and the accidents of domestic politics in New York threw unexpected weight behind their opinions in that state. Roosevelt joined his friends in opposing him for nomination; but, when that effort proved vain, and they went on to independency, Roosevelt could not follow them. To a hopeful politician such a move would have been suicide. His own uncertainty probably added acid to his defense of his conduct, and the denunciation he poured on his late associates, the Mugwumps, was increased by the tone of complacent superiority with which they referred to him.²³

Roosevelt in this campaign and again in 1888 worked out the notion of party entity, independent of, and superior to, personalities in control of the party and used this ancient defense to justify his conduct to himself.²⁴ The road to reform must be through the party and not independent of it. As he became increasingly a part of the party and, finally as president, its leader, this naturally grew on him, until it became almost one of the certainties, a lesson which history should teach. As president he referred to independency as a "fool attitude,"²⁵ but even as early as *Benton* he scolded the Abolitionists for taking this position politically, on the ground that they thus aided the enemy, and he devoted an entire chapter to the title "The Abolitionists Dance to the Slave Baron's Piping."²⁶ Having started out convinced of the values of independency, Roosevelt found that history had

²³ This tone appears in all contemporary writings and correspondence. It does not appear in the *Autobiography*.

²⁴ Roosevelt to Lodge, January 19, 1896, *Selections*, I, 210.

²⁵ Roosevelt to Lodge, August 9, 1906, *ibid.*, II, 225.

²⁶ Chap. xiii. When Lodge's biography of Washington appeared, Roosevelt wrote (July 1, 1889) with especial delight over the chapter entitled "Washington as a Party Man," *ibid.*, I, 81.

reversed itself and now taught as clearly the virtues of party loyalty and disciplined obedience.

In common with his fellows, Roosevelt exaggerated beyond reason the hoped-for results of civil service reform. Ignoring all the other things which the election of Jackson meant, Roosevelt insisted that his election was "one for the worse" on the sole ground of an alleged spoils activity, "a debasement and deterioration which has only been checked in our own days."²⁷ But civil service reform came, and the dreamed-of utopia did not come. Machines still flourished in politics, and only Roosevelt's biographer, from academic seclusion, could say "the big boss is no more."²⁸ Surely Roosevelt would never have said it. Indeed, this reform actually increased the much denounced interference of business in government, since it made the machine dependent on business for contributions. Roosevelt continued to be a believer in civil service, but the dependence on it as the universal solvent of all ills was gone, with other certainties.²⁹

The presidency demolished more of those ideas with which the young man began. On money, he would instruct the world, in the eighties and nineties;³⁰ as president, he confessed he knew nothing of it.³¹ The sovereign benefits of unregulated competition were sufficient creed for the liberal, but the president faced circumstances where competition destroyed rather than regulated, and where, in the world of practical affairs, laissez faire was a joke.³² Lawsuits, he discovered, could not prevent monopoly, and, when "natural" processes failed, governmental interference seemed essential to maintain that just distribution of economic rewards. And 1912, with all its

²⁷ *Benton*, p. 73.

²⁸ Bishop, *op. cit.*, II, 115.

²⁹ Roosevelt to Lodge, July 4, 1907, *Selections*, II, 273.

³⁰ *Benton*, pp. 115 and 138.

³¹ Pringle, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

³² *Autobiography*, p. 565.

disasters, left small remainders of the virtue of party loyalty and discipline.³³

Yet that year, 1912, brought him the presidency of the American Historical Association and the obligation and opportunity of the annual address. Roosevelt lacked time, inclination, and perhaps the analytical objectivity which would produce from this complex of experiences and defaults a new and conscious historical philosophy, but he had too keen a grasp of realities not to know that the assumptions with which he had begun were no longer tenable. Perhaps it was that disconcerting confusion and distasteful uncertainty which made him approach that address with such reluctance.³⁴

Roosevelt had nothing to say. There were pleas for a breadth of vision and a vividness of writing which were undebatable. He caught at the new history to urge a point not new. He used a wealth of illustration and eulogy to forward the cause of historical classics which needed no such advertising. The only hint of the old certainties appear in the pronouncement that the historian must be a moralist and in the assertion that American history would prove the eternal righteous progress of the nation; the decade of the twenties was still ahead.

Roosevelt had nothing to say. He knew the truth of his assertion that "the wisdom of one generation may seem the folly of the next." There is even a note of aspersion used toward those who talk of a "purely utilitarian history." It was a nicely worded address, but the things left unsaid were far more eloquent than those things said. For a title, Roosevelt chose "History as Literature."³⁵

³³ In *Oliver Cromwell* (p. 113) Roosevelt had referred to those men who "run small, separate tickets on election day, thereby giving aid, comfort, and amusement to the totally unregenerate."

³⁴ Roosevelt to Lodge, December 26, 1912, *Selections*, II, 427.

³⁵ *American Historical Review*, XVIII (April, 1913), 473.

KAUTSKY AND THE MATERIALIST INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY¹

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I

KARL KAUTSKY is the Paul of the Marxist movement.² For at least half a century he has been a figure of international renown, quoted by socialists throughout the world with the same reverence as Lenin is cited by communists today. He fathered the Second International, edited the foremost socialist journal in Europe, and brought up a whole generation of Marxists, including Lenin, who subsequently repudiated him violently. A man of great scholarly endowments and theoretical inclinations—an ideologue, as Napoleon would have said—Kautsky, because of his intellectual domination of the Second International, may be ranked as one of the makers and unmakers of modern Europe. The collapse of socialism in Central Europe is in no small measure owing to the influence of this well-meaning theorist. Today, at the age of eighty-two, he has seen the work of his life undone, socialism destroyed, and the Soviet state, which he has fought so obstinately, become a world-power.

The significance of Kautsky lies not so much in his political and journalistic activities as in his theoretical formulations of Marxist ideas, or, rather, as his Leninist critics would have

¹ The word "materialist" is used here in preference to either "Marxist" or "economic," mainly because Kautsky himself speaks of the *Materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*.

² Kautsky's relation to Marx, Professor Hearnshaw writes, "resembles that of Joshua to Moses" (F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *A Survey of Socialism* [London, 1928], p. 51).

it, in his distorting qualifications of the words of the master. For it must be remembered that after Friedrich Engels' death (1895), Kautsky, who had been on intimate terms with Marx's partner and who had known Marx himself, became the acknowledged theorist of world-socialism. Though Marx's opinion of Kautsky was not flattering,³ the latter devoted his life to the works and words of the great prophet of socialism. By dint of hard application and sheer repetition Kautsky acquired an authority in matters Marxist next only to Engels himself. What is more, in questions relating to history and sociology, Kautsky published more words than Marx and Engels combined.⁴ Hence Marxism without Kautsky is like Christianity with Paul.

³ On April 11, 1881, Marx wrote to his daughter Jenny (the wife of Charles Longuet) about the young Kautsky: "Engels has also begun to judge much more mildly in regard to this person, since the latter has demonstrated great talent in drinking. When this beauty first appeared before me—I am speaking of this odd fellow Kautsky—the first question which escaped from my lips was, was he like his mother? Absolutely, not at all, he replied; on which I inwardly congratulated his mother. He is a mediocrity, with petty points of view, too wise by half (he is only 26 years old), knowing better than anybody else, to a certain extent industrious, occupying himself with statistics but getting little sense out of it; he belongs from the year of his birth to the genus philistine, for the rest he is in his way, a respectable fellow—I shall endeavor as far as possible to pass him on to friend Engels." This damaging letter was first published, with deliberate malice, in the *Moscow Bolshevik*, March 15, 1931, in order to discredit the bolshevik's most formidable enemy in the Marxist camp; it was reprinted in the *Labour Monthly* (London), XIII (1931), 447-59.

⁴ The materialist philosophy of history was first fully expounded by Engels in his *Herr Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1878), known for short as *Anti-Dühring*, and summarized in his *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, trans. E. Aveling (New York, 1892); the same ideas are set forth more categorically in Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen Philosophie* (Stuttgart, 1888). As for Marx, he developed his materialistic ideas in his *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* (Hamburg, 1885); *Civil War in France* (with an Introduction by Engels) trans. E. B. Bax (New York, 1900); *Das Elend der Philosophie* (2d. ed.; 1892); *Revolution and Counter-Revolution: or Germany in 1848*, ed. E. Marx-Aveling and trans. C. H. Kerr (Chicago, 1907). Marx and Engels collaborated on *Communist Manifesto* (London, 1848); *Die heilige Familie* (Frankfort, 1844); *Die deutsche Ideologie* (1845). See D. Ryazanov's edition of Marx and Engels, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe* (4 vols.; Frankfort, 1927-32 [the whole collection to be in 10 vols.]); and F. Mehring, *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle* (Stuttgart, 1902).

Karl Kautsky was born in Prague in 1854, six years after the *Communist Manifesto* was promulgated by the two founders of modern socialism. While a student at Vienna, Kautsky became interested in socialism, being stimulated thereto by the Paris Commune. He began to read intensively, particularly the French utopians, but also Heine and Börne, Darwin and Buckle. In those days he was more Darwinian and Malthusian than Marxist, as is shown by his first book, *The Influence of Increasing Population upon the Progress of Society* (1880). Further reading, especially in history, brought him to the Marxist position, and, as a good Darwinian, he accepted unreservedly the two basic theories of Marx: the class struggle and the materialist conception of history.

In 1881, Kautsky's revolutionary sentiments were further sharpened by his first meeting with Marx and Engels in London. Four years later he settled in the British capital, where he enjoyed the constant company of Engels' rich personality. A few years later Bismarck's antisocialist laws collapsed, and Kautsky went to Stuttgart to edit the *Neue Zeit*, the weekly organ of German social democracy. Henceforth Kautsky must be considered not as an individual littérateur but as an integral part of German socialism.⁵

II

As editor of the *Neue Zeit* Kautsky became the official expounder of Marxist orthodoxy; the weekly, in fact, was so authoritative that the most eminent European socialists were proud to be its contributors. Among the latter was Eduard Bernstein, one of Kautsky's friends living in exile in London, who, after Engels' death, threw a "revisionist" bomb into the international socialist movement. The strug-

⁵ The biographic details are taken from Rosa Luxemburg, *Letters to Karl and Luise Kautsky from 1896 to 1918* (Introduction by Luise Kautsky), trans. L. P. Lochner (New York, 1925), Appen., pp. 233-38. See also *Der lebendige Marxismus, Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstage von Karl Kautsky* (Jena, 1924); K. Renner, *Karl Kautsky* (Berlin, 1929).

gle for the "revision" of Marxist orthodoxy took the form of a duel between Kautsky and Bernstein and affected the socialist movement throughout the world.

The Kautsky-Bernstein conflict went far to crystallize Marxist thought and to split the socialist movement into right and left wings.⁶ Bernstein, formerly an orthodox Marxist and editor of the militant *Sozialdemokrat* (proscribed under Bismarck), now made a *volte face*. In October, 1898, he addressed from London a letter to the German Social Democratic Conference in Stuttgart, in which he raised a number of embarrassing problems. Marx and Engels, he pointed out, had erred in all their predictions: capitalist society was not collapsing, misery was not increasing, class hostilities were not becoming more acute, revolution was not in the offing, all wealth was not being concentrated in a few hands. Therefore, Bernstein concluded, Marxism must be "revised." In the following year Bernstein published his challenge in *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*.⁷ The war was on.

Bernstein's book left nothing of Marxism except the term "socialist," which he defined as "an order of society based on the principle of association." And so Kautsky came to the rescue of entrenched Marxism. Both protagonists realized that Marxism must stand and fall by the materialist interpretation of history and the class struggle. Kautsky, therefore, had to defend this vital fortress. In his *Bernstein und das Sozialdemokratische Programm. Eine Antikritik* (1899),

⁶ The Russian equivalent is Menshevik and Bolshevik.

⁷ The book was translated into English as *Evolutionary Socialism* (London, 1909). In this work Bernstein disposes of all the pet theories of Marxism: the materialist interpretation of history, the class war, the theory of surplus value, the law of capitalist concentration, the idea of increasing misery, and the dictatorship of the proletariat; instead, he favored nationalism, democracy, and reform. Another famous "revisionist" was the Russian, Michael Tugan-Baranowsky, whom Seligman considers the "ablest writer of the revisionist school" (see E. R. A. Seligman, *Economic Interpretation of History* [New York, 1924], p. 111; see also the excellent summary in Hearnshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-90).

Kautsky quibbled and quoted. Unable to meet the square challenge of Berstein, he fell back upon definition and authority. Marx said this; Engels said that. The materialist interpretation, Engels had written in his *Anti-Dühring*, had made "socialism into a science." All social relationships, Marx had written in the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842-43), were "rooted in material conditions."⁸ In short, without materialism there would be no scientific socialism, and without Marx and Engels there would be no materialism. Therefore, Marx and Engels must be right.

Clearly, Bernstein had all the arguments and Kautsky all the quotations. The champion of Marxist orthodoxy grew more obstinate as the conflict became more acute.

Some time ago [Bernstein neatly disposed of Kautsky], Gabriel Deville reproached Kautsky with polemicizing in the spirit of a guardian of relics. To which Kautsky replied that such was the language of a renegade who ridicules what he once venerated. But, as Deville immediately answered, it was not a question of mocking relics but of a characteristic of the mind, the way of thinking of the guardian of the relics. One can easily see the great difference. . . . The spirit of a guardian of relics, the spirit of a jealous possessor of an object of culture which can bear no competition, the spirit of a narrow-minded collector of antiques whose value is nil the moment there arises the slightest doubt as to their age and authenticity—this will

⁸ Kautsky quoted the following classic definition of materialism from Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (3d ed., 1894), p. 286: "Die materialistische Anschauung der Geschichte geht von dem Satz aus, dass die Produktion, und nächst der Produktion der Austausch ihrer Produkte, die Grundlage aller Gesellschaftsordnung ist; dass in jeder geschichtlich auftretenden Gesellschaft die Vertheilung der Produkte, und mit ihr die soziale Gliederung in Klassen oder Stände, sich darnach richtet, was und wie produziert und wie das Produzierte ausgetauscht wird. Hiernach sind die letzten Ursachen aller gesellschaftlichen Veränderung und politischen Umwälzungen zu suchen, nicht in den Köpfen der Menschen, in ihrer zunehmenden Einsicht in die ewige Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit, sondern in Veränderung der Produktions- und Austauschweise; sie sind zu suchen nicht in der Philosophie, sondern in der Oekonomie der betreffenden Epoche. . . . Dies Mittel sind nicht etwa aus dem Kopfe zu erfinden, sondern vermittelst des Kopfes in den vorliegenden materiellen Thatsachen der Produktion zu entdecken" (Kautsky, *Bernstein und das Sozialdemokratische Programm*, pp. 16-17). For a summary of the controversy see F. Oppenheimer, "Bernstein-Kautsky," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, 1899, pp. 199-214; P. Kampffmeyer, "Historisches und Theoretisches zur sozialdemokratischen Revisionsbewegung," *ibid.*, 1902, pp. 345-54; and "K. Kautsky und der 'freie, kritische Sozialismus,'" *ibid.*, 1901, pp. 494-505.

explain the now arrogant and now uneasy, the now pathetic and now pettifogging outbursts, which always prevent a calm, factual analysis, which makes a tolerable neighborliness impossible.⁹

The struggle between right and left, between rigorous Marxists and revisionist socialists, continued in the press and at conferences, in political meetings and trade-union sessions. But in the course of the prolonged argument Kautsky deepened his knowledge and sharpened his terminology.¹⁰ Indeed, this was the period when the materialist interpretation of history saw its full development and most sophisticated treatment. But first it is necessary to trace the historic events which subsequently led Kautsky to revise and virtually to reject historical materialism and the orthodox Marxist ideology.

III

The first stage in Kautsky's intellectual development came to an end in the World War, especially during the Russian Revolution, when Leninist practice destroyed Marxist theory. In that quarter-century, roughly between 1890 and 1914, Kautsky made some contributions to Marxism, especially in the so-called Erfurt program (1891), drawn up by him, which crystallized socialist theory and became the basis of socialist action. An English translation of the program, entitled *The Class Struggle*, appeared in 1910.¹¹ This

⁹ Bernstein, "Polemisches über Polemik," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, 1902, p. 364. In 1925, on the occasion of Bernstein's seventy-fifth birthday, Kautsky wrote a handsome and lengthy appreciation of his former opponent: "I personally am glad still to have the opportunity to shake the hand of my old friend and fellow-fighter and to thank him for much that I owe him" (*Gesellschaft*, 1925, pp. 1-22).

¹⁰ Marx has frequently been criticized for careless and loose terminology, and so have his followers. "No one can deny that Marx' looseness of expression is perplexing" (M. M. Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History* [Cambridge, Mass., 1927], p. 11). Cf. W. Roscher, *Geschichte der National-Oekonomie in Deutschland* (Munich, 1874), p. 1021: "This gifted but not acute man was little capable of reducing complicated phenomena to their constituent elements." See also the sharp and often nasty criticism of Marx and the Marxists by W. Sombart, *Der proletarische Sozialismus* (Jena, 1924).

¹¹ Kautsky, *Das Erfurter Programm* (Stuttgart, 1892); the English translation is by W. E. Bohn, Chicago.

booklet is still the most succinct summary of pre-Leninist Marxism and should be carefully read by anyone interested in the subject.

"The first part [of the book]," Kautsky writes, "tells what Socialists believe; the second how they propose to make their belief effective." Socialists believe: (1) that capitalist production makes the worker a property-less proletarian, which involves for the latter "misery, oppression, servitude, degradation and exploitation"; (2) that as the number of proletarians increases, the "opposition between exploiters and exploited" becomes sharper, which leads to the class struggle; (3) that the capitalist mode of production leads to industrial crises, which further widen the "abyss between propertied and property-less." The struggle between owners and workers must lead to the liberation, "not only of the proletariat, but of the whole human race." What is more, only the workers are able to bring about this liberation, which is to lead to socialism, through the instrumentality of the Socialist party.

Nevertheless, the transformation from capitalism to socialism, Kautsky continues, is not a simple process. The workers have to fight the whole power of the state; therefore, economic conflict becomes a political conflict. "The economic struggle demands political rights, and these will not fall from heaven. To secure and maintain them, the most vigorous political action is necessary. The political struggle is, on the other hand, in the last analysis, an economic struggle."¹² This idea gradually led Kautsky into becoming a champion of parliamentarism, "gradualness," and evolution. For, he reasoned, if the proletariat continues to increase (as orthodox Marxists insisted), then it must some day achieve a majority and so take over power without any violence.

We have already seen how the modern method of production reacts on the intellectual life of the proletariat, how it has awakened in them a thirst

¹² *The Class Struggle*, pp. 185-86.

for knowledge and given them an understanding of great social problems. So far as their attitude toward politics is concerned, they are raised far above the farmers and small capitalists. It is easier for them to grasp party principles and act on them uninfluenced by personal and local motives. Their conditions of life, moreover, make it possible for them to act together in great numbers for a common end. Their regular forms of activity accustom them to rigid discipline. Their unions are to them an excellent parliamentary school; they afford opportunities for training in parliamentary law and public speaking.¹³

That Kautsky's analysis was not realistic, that his assumptions were not sound, that his prophecies did not materialize—all this may be ascribed more to Marxism than to its faithful disciple. But on the eve of the World War, Kautsky, together with the leaders of the Second International, had fully accepted the theory of social evolution, of parliamentary action, and of nonviolence. This is clearly shown by his letter to American socialists. In 1911 William D. Haywood and Morris Hillquit, having carried on a controversy on the question of direct action on the part of trade unionists asked Kautsky for his authoritative opinion. His reply, given here in abbreviated form, is both characteristic and memorable:

Dear Comrades. . . . As the starting point of my analysis I should like to take the class struggle of the proletariat. The main weapon of the proletariat is its large numbers. Only through its great masses can the proletariat maintain its grip on its victory. This presupposes the long existence of unified activity and organization, and this in turn is only possible as an open public organization. But that means also a legal organization. In an illegal conspiratory manner only individuals can be organized, but not the masses.

Where the legal right and foundation for such proletarian mass organization has not been won yet, there, to be sure, we must scorn (*pfeifen*) legality, we must organize illegally, secretly, and carry on an illegal, secret propaganda, just as they do in Russia. Our object in so carrying on the propaganda must be, however, to win in the legal right for such organization and propaganda.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 187. Kautsky also attempted to show how the peasants were affected by the same social process as the city workers (see his *Die Agrarfrage. Eine Uebersicht ueber die Tendenzen moderner Landwirtschaft und die Agrarpolitik der Sozialdemokratie* [Stuttgart, 1899]; cf. the review by A. Nossig, "Kautskys Werk über die Agrarfrage," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, 1899, pp. 160-67).

Whenever we have won this legal right, however, or already find it in operation, we must make use of it and avoid everything which might place in jeopardy this legal basis, which means also avoid every form of lawlessness. Even where our opponents disregard this established legal right in their practices, we must not do the same. . . . We must under such circumstances teach the masses to protest against the illegality of their opponents. . . .

We must not forget that private property rests not alone upon laws that were created by the ruling classes, but also upon an ethical sentiment which is a product of thousands and thousands of years of development in society, and which is alive in the toiling proletariat as well as in the peasantry and in the middle class. . . . The mass of wage workers despise the thief. The capitalists bow reverently to the successful big thief.

To preach individual struggle against property means to turn the interest of the workers from mass action to individual action. . . . This form of action is . . . in opposition to the ethical conception of the masses of workingmen. . . . Everywhere and under all circumstances individual action against property is to be objected to.¹⁴

IV

Kautsky's growing faith in nonviolence received its first shock in July, 1914. The question came up whether or not the German social democratic faction in the Reichstag should vote the war credits. Those opposing the support of the war acted on the advice of Kautsky, who argued that the German government was responsible for the outbreak. When the fatal vote was taken, seventy-eight socialist deputies voted the credits unconditionally; fourteen, including Hugo Haase, the president of the group, voted against. This minority, together with Kautsky, formed the Independent Socialist party. Kautsky, however, was not an out-and-out opponent of the war; he wavered between right and left. The majority group ousted Kautsky from the editorship of *Die Neue Zeit*, although Carl Severing, an eminent "Majority Socialist," argued that "Kautsky had acquired a moral right to remain in possession of the periodical, which he had con-

¹⁴ Berlin, December 13, 1911, in *Socialist Review*, 1911-12, pp. 435 f.

ducted for an uninterrupted space of thirty-five years, and which had no doubt become a part of his spiritual self.”¹⁵

The old editor’s “spiritual self” was to receive another blow, and one from which neither he nor world-socialism ever recovered, or are likely to recover. That was the cataclysm which goes under the name of the “Russian Revolution,” led by Kautsky’s fellow-Marxist, Lenin.

The events of November, 1917, impaled Kautsky and all other Second International socialists on both horns of a dilemma. In the field of theory the Russian Revolution was a challenge to Marxism, or rather to Marxists. Intellectually the question resolved itself to this: Did or did not Marx favor a proletarian dictatorship? Briefly, Lenin gave a resounding “Yes”; Kautsky pontifically cried “No.” Yet Lenin was as thorough and faithful a Marxist scholar as Kautsky, and, what was much more important, Lenin also commanded the battalions and the guns. Lenin, a statesman of genius, could easily quote Marx, which he did not need to do, though it is to his credit that he took the trouble to defend his position logically. Kautsky, an erudite doctri-

¹⁵ In *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, October 10, 1914; cf. Bevan, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-34 *et passim*. For Kautsky’s role in this period see M. Fainsod, *International Socialism and the World War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 9-10, 217-21. In 1919 Kautsky published *The Guilt of William Hohenzollern* (English trans.; London, 1920), based on the archives and showing the kaiser’s role in causing the World War. One paragraph deserves quotation: “No constitution, however elaborately devised, no democracy, no Soviet system, nor any aristocracy, not even one of philosophers on the Platonic model, can prevent scoundrels from getting to the head of the State. But with every kind of constitution, whether of a State, of a political party, a commune, a church, or other organization the leadership of which is entrusted only to men who have won the general confidence of those concerned, a rascal can only get to the top through great services rendered to the community. . . . It is only in the hereditary monarchy, which makes the personality of the Supreme Head of the State dependent, not upon the services he renders to the State, but upon the chance accident of birth, that occasionally not only rascals but also dullards or lunatics govern the State.” To Kautsky the career of William II was another argument for democracy (see his *Wie der Weltkrieg entstand* [Berlin, 1919]). After the fall of the Hohenzollerns, Kautsky, together with Max Montgellas and Walter Schücking, edited the German documents dealing with the outbreak of the World War, *Die deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch* (4 vols.; Charlottenburg, 1919). See H. F. Helmolt, *Kautsky der Historiker* (Charlottenburg, 1920).

naire, could not afford to agree to the Russian's logic, for both political realism and Marxist doctrine inevitably led to the conclusion that real Marxist socialists must strive to establish a socialist dictatorship *à la* Moscow. This Kautsky was temperamentally unwilling and politically unable to do; he was definitely wedded to the ideas of democracy, reform, evolution. His life's work, his career, and his prestige were at stake. Defend democracy he must at all cost, and in defending democracy he was compelled not only to fight for the preservation of all the formerly hated bourgeois institutions connected with parliamentarism but also to become a violent opponent of the Soviet Republic, the only successful state the proletarians have ever been able to form. Thus, once more, Kautsky found himself at war, but this time, it is no exaggeration to say, the fate of Europe was at stake, since upon the acceptance or rejection of Leninism depended the future of European socialism and probably of Europe itself.

Kautsky was fully aware of the terrible implications of the Russian Revolution; throughout the war he had been violently attacked by Lenin for his "centrism."¹⁶ Now the Austro-German theorist took the offensive. The proverb about the best defensive being an offensive did not quite hold this time, for Lenin was an excessively dangerous foe. The first shot in this international war of words was Kaut-

¹⁶ Lenin's articles against Kautsky and the Second International socialists were published in book form (Lenin and Zinoviev, *Against the Stream* (Petrograd, 1919)); they are included in Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. VXIII. In a pamphlet which Lenin published at Geneva in 1915 (translated into German and French), he wrote as follows: "Kautskyism is not an accident but a social product of the contradictions within the Second International which combined faithfulness to Marxism in words with submission to opportunism in deeds" (Lenin, *Socialism and War* ["Little Lenin Library," Vol. III], pp. 21-22). Another work of Lenin's, *State and Revolution* (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXI), contains a chapter (chap. vi) on "The Vulgarisation of Marxism by the Opportunists," with special reference to Kautsky, of whom Lenin then wrote that "he had repudiated the revolution in deeds, while accepting it in words." For the bibliography of this conflict see Lenin's Preface to his *The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky* ("Little Lenin Library," Vol. XXI).

sky's booklet, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (1918).¹⁷ Kautsky's basic argument was that Lenin had perverted Marxism by denying democracy and establishing a dictatorship. "Socialism without democracy is unthinkable." This motif was elaborated in a thousand different ways. Wherever possible Kautsky tried to quote from Marx—a well-nigh impossible task, for Marx was not notorious as a lover of democracy. The best that Kautsky could do, after dredging Marx's books, was to quote this: "We know that the institutions, the manners and the customs of the various countries must be considered, and we do not deny that there are countries like England and America, and . . . Holland, where the worker may attain his object by peaceful means." Poor consolation for a democrat, indeed! A subsidiary Kautskian argument was that Russia, after all, was a backward country and that what happened there was not to be taken as an example for Europe.

The Socialist Party which governs Russia today [Kautsky wrote] gained power in fighting against other Socialist parties, and exercises its authority while excluding other Socialist parties from the executive. The antagonism of the two Socialist movements is not based on small personal jealousies: it is the clashing of two fundamentally distinct methods, that of democracy and that of dictatorship. Both movements have the same end in view: to free the proletariat, and with it humanity, through Socialism. But the view taken by the one is held by the other to be erroneous and likely to lead to destruction.¹⁸

Disregarding all "bourgeois" niceties, Lenin came back with a terrific attack. To the bolshevik leader, Kautsky—as the "greatest theoretician of the 'Second' International"—was an opponent worthy of all his vitriol. The Leninist bombardment took the form of a booklet entitled *The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*.¹⁹ The argument, in brief,

¹⁷ Translated by H. J. Stenning (London, 1919).

¹⁸ *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, pp. 1-2; cf. *Neue Zeit*, April 6, 1917.

¹⁹ Published in Petrograd and Moscow, 1918; republished in Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII; English translation in "Little Lenin Library," Vol. XXI. "In Karl Kautsky, the main leader and representative of the 'centre' and the most out-

was that Kautsky was a Jesuitical quibbler, who quoted, misquoted, and distorted Marx's views. Lenin damned Kautsky not for his ignorance of Marxism but for his deliberate betrayal of Marxism; that was why he considered him a "renegade."

How [Lenin wrote] is this monstrous distortion of Marxism, by this "erudite" Marxian, Kautsky, to be explained? Speaking of the philosophical basis of this phenomenon we would say that it is tantamount to the substitution of eclecticism and sophistry for dialectics. Kautsky is a past master in this sort of subterfuge. Speaking of it from the standpoint of practical politics, we would say that it is tantamount to subservency to the opportunists, i.e., in the last resort, to the bourgeoisie. From the outbreak of the war, Kautsky made increasingly rapid progress in this art of being a Marxist in words and a lackey of the bourgeoisie in deeds, until he attained virtuosity in it.²⁰

Despite his genius for invective,²¹ Lenin did not devote his booklet merely to name-calling. He took up the vital questions of dictatorship, democracy, and the state. Lenin pointed out that Kautsky was a quibbler in his talk about "democracy" and "pure Democracy." The Russian leader ruthlessly asked: "Democracy for whom? For what class?" Did Kautsky forget the Marxist idea of the class struggle? Did he not know that every state was the instrument of the dominant class? "The State," according to Marx, "is an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of one class by another; its aim is the creation of 'order' which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the

standing authority in the Second International, we have since August, 1914, a complete breakdown of Marxism, an unheard-of lack of principles, a series of pitiful vacillations and betrayals" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, XX, 147).

²⁰ *Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*, p. 17. Cf. "Kautsky and their ilk perverted and debased Marxism" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, XX, 154).

²¹ Lenin was a master of invective; not satisfied with merely exposing Kautsky's position, he also hurled at him words like "monstrous," "schoolmaster," "dry as dust," "tedious," "twaddler," "subservient," "opportunist," "sophist," "lackey of the bourgeoisie," "blind puppy," "extreme stupidity," "clumsy trickery," "servility," "contemptible sycophant," "shameless," "falsifier," "distorter," "renegade," "mere puppy," "every phrase he utters is a bottomless pit of renegacy."

collisions between the classes." Therefore the victorious proletariat must take over the state and use its armed power to destroy the remnants of the bourgeoisie—hence the need for dictatorship²²

Theoretically [Lenin wrote], there is no denying that the State is the organ of class domination, or that class antagonisms are irreconcilable. But what is forgotten or glossed over is this: if the State is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonisms, if it is a force standing *above* society and "increasingly separating itself from it," then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, *but also without the destruction* of the apparatus of State power, which was created by the ruling class and in which this "separation" is embodied. As we shall see later, Marx drew this theoretical self-evident conclusion from a concrete historical analysis of the problems of revolution. And it is exactly this conclusion which Kautsky . . . had "forgotten" and distorted.²³

Kautsky's counterreply, *Terrorism and Communism*,²⁴ arguing for the sacredness of human life, brought forth counter-counterattacks from two of the heaviest guns in the Leninist camp. Leon Trotsky came out with a *Defense of Terrorism* (1920)²⁵ and Karl Radek wrote *Proletarian Dictatorship and Terrorism*.²⁶ Trotsky's pamphlet was based on history and the class struggle. "Every class society," he generalized, "having exhausted its vitality, does not simply leave the arena, but is violently swept off by an intense struggle."²⁷ The problem, Trotsky argued, was to make the inevitable civil war as short as possible by resoluteness (i.e.,

²² *Renegade Kautsky*, pp. 19, 20, *et passim*.

²³ *State and Revolution* (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXI), pp. 155-56.

²⁴ *Terrorismus und Kommunismus. Ein Beitrag zur Naturgeschichte der Revolution* (Berlin, 1919), p. 9: "The revolution brings us a bloody terrorism carried out by Socialist governments. The bolsheviks in Russia first stepped on to this path, and were, consequently, sternly condemned by all Socialists who had not adopted the bolshevik point of view" (cf. his *Gegen die Diktatur* [Berlin, 1919]).

²⁵ *The Defence of Terrorism (Terrorism and Communism). A Reply to Karl Kautsky* (Preface by H. N. Brailsford) (English trans.; London, 1921).

²⁶ Trans. P. Lavin (Detroit, Mich.: Marxian Educational Society, n.d.).

²⁷ Trotsky, *Defense of Terrorism*, p. 8.

terrorism); "but it is just against revolutionary resoluteness that Kautsky's whole book is directed."²⁸ Only force "can be the deciding factor" in revolution. Trotsky's basic idea was that socialism (or communism, as the bolsheviks now called it) could not be inaugurated except by force. There was no alternative.

What is the meaning of the principle of the sacredness of human life in practice [Trotsky asked], and in what does it differ from the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," Kautsky does not explain. When a murderer raises his knife over a child, may one kill the murderer to save the child? Will not thereby the principle of the "sacredness of human life" be infringed? May one kill the murderer to save oneself? Is an insurrection of oppressed slaves against their masters permissible? Is it permissible to purchase one's freedom at the cost of the life of one's jailers? If human life in general is sacred and inviolable, we must deny ourselves not only the use of terror, not only war, but also revolution itself. Kautsky simply does not realize the counter-revolutionary meaning of the "principle" which he attempts to force upon us. . . . As long as human labor power, and, consequently, life itself, remain articles of sale and purchase, of exploitation and robbery, the principle of the "sacredness of human life" remains a shameful lie, uttered with the object of keeping the oppressed slaves in their chains.²⁹

Karl Radek, on his part, accused Kautsky of self-contradiction and malicious libel on the proletarian state. Why, the Russian journalist asked, did Kautsky get so excited about terrorism in Russia when the White armies of Kolchak were committing atrocities against Russian workers and peasants?³⁰ Once, Radek pointed out bitterly, Kautsky had defended terror—the Jacobin terror of the French Revolution; then he had written: "In this war France could only win by the exertion of all her strength, and this could only

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59; cf. p. 58: "We are fighting. We are fighting a life-and-death struggle. . . . We are destroying the press of the counter-revolution, just as we destroyed its fortified positions, its stores, its communications, and its intelligence system. . . . We are victoriously destroying the very foundations of capitalist corruption." See Kautsky's reply, *Von der Demokratie zur Staats-Sklaverei, eine Auseinandersetzung mit Trotzki* (Berlin, 1921).

³⁰ Radek, *Proletarian Dictatorship and Terrorism*, pp. 13 ff.

be brought about through the reckless hatred of private property which animated the masses of the people.”³¹ Was there so much difference between 1793 and 1919?

Whoever [Radek concluded] has studied the history of revolutions, not from books like Kautsky's but from great and original if also reactionary bourgeois sources, will have no hesitation in agreeing with Ranke when he says in his history of the English Revolution that great things must always be *shaped by a will*. The meaning of terrorism in the revolution is *that the revolutionary class, even in the hour of greatest danger, shrinks from nothing in order to accomplish its will, and defends itself with all its might*.³²

These attacks forced Kautsky to a more and more right position. Until the complete destruction of the socialists in Germany and in Austria—fifteen years after Lenin's successful revolution—Kautsky continued his sniping at the bolsheviks. Gradually Central Europe was being engulfed by a fascist tide, but the old Marxist doctrinaire grew less realistic and more conservative. Dictatorships ruled in Italy, Hungary, Poland, and the Balkans, but Kautsky continued to write about democracy and to quote Marx. He wrote a whole series of articles against the Soviets but did little against the Fascists, who were the real menace to Marxist socialists. On the eve of Hitler's coming to power, and only a short time before Dollfuss bombarded the Austrian socialists out of existence, Kautsky, after pooh-poohing dictatorship (especially the Soviet kind), could write thus:

Fortunately for the German proletariat the dreams of the Communists will not be fulfilled. During the two generations of their existence and victorious ascent the Social Democracy developed among the German workers so much knowledge, so much power and self-confidence, so much solidarity and loyalty for organization, that even the dissolving and devastating effects of the World War, the peace treaty, and finally the world crisis, could do nothing against the heart of the Social Democratic party, the free trade unions and all the organizations connected with them.

³¹ Quoted from Kautsky's article in *Die Neue Zeit*, 1904-5; Radek, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

³² Radek, *op. cit.*, p. 59; italics Radek's. "Marxism," Radek pointed out, "was never really practically brought face to face with the question of force, and the merit which Herr Kautsky claims for it as a great restraining influence exists for the most part only in his imagination" (*ibid.*, p. 36).

Social Democracy has momentarily come to a standstill. But it is not in retreat. It is still the rock against which the waves of Fascism and its Communistic accomplices beat in vain.³³

Within a few months after this was written, not only Kautsky's beloved social democracy but also the Weimar Republic, which he had helped to build, collapsed without the slightest resistance. Finally Dollfuss destroyed the last remnants of the once-powerful Austrian social democracy. And so Kautsky, in his old age, found himself a champion of a cause that appeared ridiculous, leader of a party that was ignominiously annihilated, prophet of an ideal that had no reflection in reality.

V

Though in practice the World War and the Russian Revolution left nothing of European Marxism—especially after the Heidelberg program of 1925³⁴—there was much writing

³³ Kautsky, "Kommunismus und Sozialdemokratie," *Gesellschaft*, I (1932), 260-78. Space forbids an analysis of all of Kautsky's writings against the bolsheviks. The following brief list may serve merely as a guide: *Die Internationale und Sowjetrussland* (Berlin, 1925); "Die Lehren des Oktober-experiments," *Gesellschaft*, 1925, pp. 374-80; *Der Bolschewismus in der Sackgasse* (1930), translated as *Bolshevism at a Deadlock* by B. Pritchard (London, 1931); "Sozialdemokratie und Bolschewismus," *Gesellschaft*, I (1931), 54-71; "Die Aussichten des Fünfjahresplanes," *ibid.*, pp. 255-64; "Das bolschewistische Kamel," *ibid.*, II, 342-56—this was an answer to Upton Sinclair's attack on Kautsky in the *New Leader* (New York), August 15, 1931, in which the American author wrote: "I call this book [*Bolshevism at a Deadlock*] an humiliation of the Socialist movement in Germany and a danger for the Socialist movement in the world" (cf. "Die Aussichten des Sozialismus in Sowjetrussland," *Gesellschaft*, II [1931], 420-44). In the last-mentioned article Kautsky wrote characteristically (p. 259): "It is of the essence of the Russian autocracy that its spokesmen despised the people over whom they ruled, whom they knew only as trembling, will-less slaves. Therefore they hoped to acquire equality with powerful western Europe when they took over the latter's technical instruments, but not its liberties . . . which alone made possible the superior technic and economy of the west. This was recognized by none of the Russian autocrats, . . . from Lenin to Stalin. Hence Napoleon's proverb about these despots still holds true: Scratch a Russian and you find a Tatar."

³⁴ The Heidelberg program (September, 1925) was, interestingly enough, drawn up by Kautsky, who had been the author of the Erfurt program thirty-four years before. The new socialist program virtually abandoned Marxism (see A. Shadwell, *The Breakdown of Socialism* [London, 1926], and Hearnshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-93).

about Marxist theory.³⁵ It was in the postwar period that Kautsky himself wrote his most ambitious work, *Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*,³⁶ which was not merely the culmination of one man's lifework but also the fullest statement of the most ambitious theory of history in modern times.

Kautsky's work in the field of materialist historiography is important for two reasons. In the first place, Kautsky is a close student of Marx; in the second place, with the possible exception of Franz Mehring, the author of the *Materialist Conception of History*, he is the only historian in the Marxist movement.³⁷

First, some definitions.

Generally, the materialist interpretation of history gives an economic explanation of all social phenomena, historic movements, and human relationships. The Marxists have further sharpened this concept by attaching to it the idea of the class struggle, which further narrows all phenomena to an expression of the conflict between economic classes.

Engels, who was even more responsible for the materialist formulation than Marx, stated it badly:

Just as Darwin discovered organic evolution in nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human society: the simple fact, hitherto

³⁵ A tentative list of works dealing with the Marxist theory of history, which I have drawn up, showed no less than two hundred titles from 1914 to 1932; these cover most European languages except Russian. The list, however, is far from complete.

³⁶ In 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1927; cf. K. Korsch, *Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Karl Kautsky* (Leipzig, 1929).

³⁷ This is no exaggeration. Though Marxism is based upon a stupendous historical assumption, Marxists, whether socialists or communists, have been so busy fighting capitalists and each other, that they have paid virtually no attention to history. With the exception of Russia, the output of Marxist historiography is not merely slim but generally poor in content. "In the field of history," to quote Charles A. Beard, "Marx and his followers undoubtedly have helped to turn the attention of historians from purely political and diplomatic affairs to the more permanent and fundamental forces in the development and conflict of nations, but in this sphere the Socialists have not been so productive. Apart from some disconnected studies, they have written little history" (Beard, "Socialist History of France," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXI [1906], 111). The Marxists have excelled in theorizing, but to practical historiography they have made few contributions.

concealed by idealistic weeds, that human beings must first eat, drink, dwell, and clothe themselves before they can indulge in politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of immediate material provisions forms the foundation of every economic stage of development of a nation or an epoch, from which have developed the political institutions, the legal concepts, the arts, and even the religious ideas—not, as was thought until now, the reverse.³⁸

Lenin, a profound student of Marx and Engels, wrote with his usual forthrightness:

The materialist conception of history, or, strictly speaking, the application of materialism to the sphere of social phenomena, has removed two of the main defects of the theory of history as hitherto understood. History has, at best, up to now, considered the ideal motives of the historical activity of human beings, without examining into the cause of these motives, without discovering the objective law behind the development of the system of social relations, without seeking the root of these relations in the degree of development of material production. Secondly, the theories applied up to now have overlooked precisely the activity of the great masses of the population, while historical materialism has for the first time made it possible for us to examine, with the precision of natural science, the social conditions influencing the life of the masses, and the changes taking place in these conditions.³⁹

These were, so to speak, the orthodox doctrines of Marxism. Theoretically, every socialist accepted materialism and the class struggle. There were, to be sure, a few prewar Marxist socialists who questioned the sufficiency of materialism as an explanation for all social phenomena, but Kautsky was not then one of the heretics. Thus Jaurès, the French socialist leader and editor of a great history of France, expressed his doubts about materialism as a solution for all historical problems. "The almost infinite complication of human life," Jaurès wrote, "does not allow itself to be re-

³⁸ Engels, in *Züricher Sozialdemokrat*, March 22, 1883; quoted by F. Mehring, *Die Lessing Legende. Eine Rettung. Nebst einem Anhang über den historischen Materialismus* (Stuttgart, 1892), p. 434; cf. Kautsky, *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History*, trans. J. B. Askew (4th ed.; Chicago, 1911), p. 71: "A great and decided advance . . . was first made by Darwin, who proved . . . that the altruistic feelings formed no peculiarity of man, that they are also to be found in the animal world, and that there, as here, they spring from similar causes."

³⁹ Lenin, "Materialist Conception of History," *Labour Monthly*, IV (1923), 265.

duced brutally, mechanically, to an economic formula.”⁴⁰ But Kautsky had no such doubts. Before William of Hohenzollern and Nicolai Lenin had inconsiderately destroyed Kautsky’s fantasy world, he wrote:

Materialism means . . . a philosophy of struggle against the dominant authorities; therefore it is in disrepute among the bourgeoisie, but for that very reason we, followers of the proletarian philosophy as the cause of total development, hold fast to it, since it can also be objectively justified.⁴¹

Wherefore Kautsky spent a considerable portion of his time in showing that the materialist conception of history was “objectively justified.” He wrote a series of strictly historical works in which he applied the Marxist philosophy. His *Foundations of Christianity*,⁴² the first in point of historic chronology, aimed to show that originally Christianity was a “movement of impoverished classes, or ancient ‘proletarians.’”⁴³ . . . All history is one long uninterrupted struggle for liberty and equality, which meets again and again with oppression and inequality.”⁴⁴ To study this struggle requires an “unprejudiced view of the past” and an “economic understanding.”⁴⁵ But why, Kautsky asks, should one study so remote a period as Christianity at all? Why not leave it to the professors? He answers his own questions as follows:

We must admit that history as a permanent chart for the pilot of a ship of State is indeed of no use; but this does not mean that it has no other use for him; the utility he will draw from it is of a different nature. He must use history as a sounding line, as a means of studying the channels in which he is navigating, of understanding them and his position in them. The sole way to understand a phenomenon is to learn how it arose. I cannot under-

⁴⁰ Quoted in Beard, *loc. cit.*, p. 112 n.

⁴¹ Kautsky, *Ethik und materialistische Geschichtsauffassung* (Stuttgart, 1906), p. 79. “It was the materialist conception of history which . . . has taught us to deduce our social aims solely from the knowledge of the material foundations” (see the English trans. of *Ethik* [Chicago, 1911], pp. 210 f.).

⁴² *Der Ursprung des Christentums* (Stuttgart, 1910); translated as *Foundations of Christianity: A Study in Christian Origins* (New York, 1925).

⁴³ *Foundations of Christianity*, pp. 9–10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

stand present-day society unless I know the manner in which it has come to be, how its various phenomena: Capitalism, Feudalism, Christianity, Judaism, etc., have developed.⁴⁶

The "warrior in the class struggle" must, therefore, have a knowledge of the evolution of society in order not to lose himself in impressions of the "immediate moment." A guide to the socialist future must have sound knowledge; he must know history and science; in a complex age a "scientific understanding. . . . becomes an absolute necessity."⁴⁷

But to come back to the origins of Christianity. Kautsky points out that the proletarians living in Jerusalem were no longer satisfied with orthodox Judaism, with zealotism and Essenism, and sought a new religious expression.

By the side of the Zealots and the Essenes, there necessarily was built up a third proletarian tendency, uniting the Zealotic and Essenian tendencies in one movement. The expression of this tendency was the congregation of the Messiah. It is generally recognized that the Christian congregation originally embraced proletarian elements almost exclusively, and was a proletarian organization.⁴⁸

Early Christianity, therefore, had a class basis, since the well to do had no such great need for a religion of salvation, nor could they subscribe to a faith which showed hostility to earthly possessions. Kautsky quotes the Gospel of Luke as an example of class hatred, particularly the story of Lazarus where the "rich man goes to Hell and the poor man into Abraham's bosom, not because the former is a sinner, . . . but for the simple reason that he is a rich man."⁴⁹ Such a proletarian movement inevitably led to a "communistic organization."⁵⁰ What was more, early Christianity, like

* ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15; cf. p. 17.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 327-28. The same Gospel (18:24, 25) has Jesus say: "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God, for it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." Similarly in the Sermon on the Mount (Luke 6:20-21): Blessed be ye poor for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are ye that hunger now," etc.

⁵⁰ *Foundations of Christianity*, p. 331. The Acts of the Apostles (2:42, 44) read: "And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship. . . .

modern socialism, was "exclusively an urban movement," dominated by city proletarians.⁵¹ But the general decline of Roman society also brought "economic and moral decay" to the proletariat, which, in its hopelessness and despair, was ready for salvation at the hands of "extraordinary and supernatural powers."⁵² Such, however, Kautsky pointed the moral, was no longer the case with modern proletarians.

The period of the rise of Christianity is a period of the saddest intellectual decline, of the flourishing of an absurd ignorance, of the most stupid superstition; the period of the rise of Socialism is a period of the most striking progress in the natural sciences and a speedy acquisition of knowledge by the classes under the influence of the Social-Democracy.⁵³

Kautsky elaborated the same thesis in his *Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation*.⁵⁴ Here he tried to refute the "widespread idea that communism is antagonistic to the existence of man."⁵⁵ He connected up the primitive communist movements in the Middle Ages with a revolt of the poor against the papacy, which stood "in the front rank of the propertied classes."⁵⁶ With the church being the "wealthiest and greatest among the exploiters," and dominating all intellectual and economic life, the poor and suffering folk reverted to the communist doctrines of early Christianity.⁵⁷ This became pronounced in the time of the "revival of ancient literature and learning." The Renaissance brought fine letters and the Roman law to the upper classes and the genuine Gospels to the poor people. Here was a great social and intellectual revolution.

And all that believed were together and had all things common." Cf. Marx, *Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*, trans. H. Kuhn (New York, 1924), Introd. by Engels, pp. 29 and 30.

⁵¹ *Foundations of Christianity*, pp. 462-64.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 465.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 471-72.

⁵⁴ Trans. J. L. and E. G. Mulliken (London, 1897).

⁵⁵ *Communism in Central Europe*, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Neither the Roman law nor classic literature could please the proletariat and its sympathizers; they found what they were seeking in another product of Roman society—the Gospels. The traditional communism of primitive Christianity was well suited to their own necessities. As the foundations of a higher order of communistic production were not yet laid, theirs could only be an equalizing communism. . . .

The communistic doctrines of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles . . . favored the growth and dissemination of the latter quite as much as the Roman law aided the development of absolutism and the bourgeoisie.

Hence the Christian and religious basis of the communistic tendencies. Conflicts were inevitable with the Church, the richest among the rich, which had indeed for a long time denounced the demands of the prevailing communism as a devilish heresy, and had sought by all kinds of sophistries to distort and obscure the communistic purport of primitive Christian writings.⁵⁸

Though monistic, Kautsky's thesis that Christianity was a revolt of the poor against the rich and that the Reformation brought these latent tendencies to the fore, deserves more attention than it has received among non-Marxists.

In his *Thomas More and His Utopia*⁵⁹ Kautsky applied his thesis of the class struggle to the secular side of the Reformation. But he took one step forward. He had traced the rise of primitive communism in the first two books; now he described the rise of socialism—a more advanced stage. Briefly, Kautsky treated Sir Thomas More (together with Thomas Münzer) as the first socialist.

It is sometimes debated whether the honor of having inaugurated the history of Socialism should fall to More or to Münzer, both of whom follow the long line of Socialists, from Lycurgus and Pythagoras to Plato, the Gracchi, Catiline, Christ, His apostles and disciples, who are sometimes mentioned in proof of the assertion that there have always been Socialists without the goal ever coming nearer.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

⁵⁹ *Thomas More und seine Utopie* (Stuttgart, 1888), trans. H. J. Stenning (London, 1927).

⁶⁰ *Thomas More and His Utopia*, p. 1; for the economic causes of the Reformation see pp. 10, 13, 19–20, *et passim*. Kautsky's other historical works include: *Die Klassengegensätze im Zeitalter der französischen Revolution* (Stuttgart, 1908); this first appeared as *Klassengegensätze von 1789* (1889); *Krieg und Demokratie, eine historische Untersuchung* (Berlin, 1932).

From these historical books, written long before the World War, we may turn to his theories of history, especially those developed after the disillusionment of the war and the Russian Revolution.

The aged Kautsky still paid lip service to Marx. But now, after Lenin's ruthless application of the principles of the master, Kautsky read into Marxism what had never been there. In the first place, he watered down the sharp Marxist concepts of "class" and the class-dominated state.⁶¹ Kautsky now denied that a class *qua* class can dominate the state. "The truth is merely that the political power of a class does not depend upon its inclination or its will, but upon economic conditions."⁶² In the second place, Kautsky strenuously opposed the Leninist idea of dictatorship, arguing that only democracy could achieve real socialism. "The working classes many not seize any State machinery and operate it for their own purposes. A bureaucratic-militarist State machine is unsuitable to this end. The only suitable instrument is the democratic Republic."⁶³ Third, Kautsky came out flatly

⁶¹ Apart from Lenin's classic, *State and Revolution*, there is a large literature on the Marxist idea of the state. See esp. H. Kelsen, *Sozialismus und Staat. Eine Untersuchung der politischen Theorie des Marxismus* (Leipzig, 1920), and the reply by M. Adler, *Die Staatsauffassung des Marxismus* (Vienna, 1922), to which Kelsen answered in a revised edition of his book (Leipzig, 1923); F. Lenz, *Staat und Marxismus* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921); H. Sultan, *Gesellschaft und Staat bei Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (Jena, 1922).

⁶² Kautsky, *The Labour Revolution*, p. 62. "Class" is one of the key ideas in Marxism. Marx himself has explained it in a significant passage: "As far as I am concerned, the honor does not belong to me for having discovered the existence either of classes in modern society or of the struggle between the classes. Bourgeois historians a long time before me expounded the historical development of this class struggle, and bourgeois economists, the economic anatomy of classes. What was new on my part, was to prove the following: (1) that the existence of classes is connected only with certain historical struggles which arise out of the development of production; (2) that class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship is itself only a transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society" (Marx to Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852, quoted by Mehring in *Neue Zeit*, XXV, No. 2 [1907], 164, and quoted in Lenin, *Collected Works*, XXI, 175).

⁶³ Kautsky, *The Labour Revolution*, p. 67.

against revolution and violence, insisting that socialism must come inevitably as a result of economic development.

And it behooves us Marxists to lay the greatest stress upon the other side of Marxism, which teaches that all political and social ideas and institutions are conditioned by economic laws which may not be altered at will. It teaches that Socialism will *inevitably, and as a necessity of nature*, emerge at a certain stage of capitalist development.⁶⁴

But Kautsky's opponents, especially the Russians, were able to quote Marx effectively against such democratic and "reformist" views. Lenin quoted Engels' famous quotation from Marx to the effect that "force is the midwife of every old society which is pregnant with the new."⁶⁵ And Lenin also cited Bebel to prove the need for the destruction of the bourgeois state. This paragraph deserves to be given in full:

According to the grammatical meaning of the words, the free State is one in which the State is free in relation to its citizens, i.e., a State with a despotic government. It would be well to throw overboard all this chatter about the State, especially after the Commune, which was no longer a State in the proper sense of the word. The Anarchists have too long thrown this "people's state" into our teeth, although already in Marx' work against Proudhon, and then in the *Communist Manifesto*, it was stated definitely that, with the introduction of the Socialist order of society, the State will dissolve of itself and disappear. As the State is only a transitional phenomenon which must be made use of in struggle, in the revolution, in order forcibly to crush our antagonists, it is pure absurdity to speak of a people's free State. As long as the proletariat still *needs* the State, it needs it, not in the interests of freedom, but for the purpose of crushing its antagonists; and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, then the State, as such, ceases to exist.⁶⁶

Since the Leninist-Marxists threw the master's own words at Kautsky, the latter had to reply in kind. The bolsheviks, Kautsky wrote, cite the *Communist Manifesto* to buttress their dictatorship. Was, then, the *Manifesto* antidemocratic? In an article, "The *Communist Manifesto* and Democracy,"

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38; italics mine.

⁶⁵ Engels, Introduction to Marx's *Civil Wars in France* (1891), p. 208, cited in Lenin, *Collected Works*, XXI, 165.

⁶⁶ Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben* (1911), pp. 321-22, quoted in Lenin's *Collected Works*, XXI, 200-201.

Kautsky argued weakly that Marx and Engels had rejected all *Putzschmacherei*.

We see now how we are to conceive the attitude of the *Communist Manifesto* towards democracy: It is not true that it speaks contemptuously of, or that it rejects, democracy. On the contrary, it advocates [democracy] as the first step in the proletarian revolution. But Marx and Engels considered it [democracy] only as a proletarian means for the winning of political power and the accomplishment of Socialist measures.⁶⁷

In 1927 Kautsky published his *Materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*, in two volumes. As was to be expected, this work summarized, with unexcelled fulness, all his ideas on the state, society, socialism, and history. The student of Kautsky will find nothing new in this ponderous work, although the student of Marx will probably be surprised at the sweeping revisions. Kautsky surrendered the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic. He refuted the idea of the class struggle and its effect on economic production as contrary to historic reality. In place of Marx's concept of "dialectical evolution," Kautsky substituted the theory of democracy. The latter, in fact, was the high point of the book, the final argument toward which all his learning and reasoning was aimed. Only democracy, Kautsky concluded, can bring socialism.⁶⁸ Little was left of Marx's materialism and the class struggle.

⁶⁷ "Das kommunistische Manifest und die Demokratie," *Gesellschaft*, II (1928), 38-39. Cf. Kautsky's article, "To What Extent Is the *Communist Manifesto* Obsolete?" *Socialist Review*, V (1910), 274-88, in which he argues, somewhat defensively, that, although the *Manifesto* is a classic, it requires some revision.

⁶⁸ The first volume is entitled *Natur und Gesellschaft*; the second, *Der Staat und die Entwicklung der Menschheit*; see A. Braunthal, "Karl Kautsky's materialistische Geschichtstheorie," *Gesellschaft*, 1928, pp. 193-212; A. Schiffrin, "Karl Kautsky und die Krise der Marxisten," *ibid.*, II (1929), 149-69; E. Vandervelde, "La Psychologie du socialisme. A propos de trois livres recentes. Karl Kautsky, N. Boukharine, Henri de Man," in *Mémoires Académie royale de Belgique, classe des lettres*, Vol. XXII (1928), Fasc. 3. See also A. Bogdanoff, *Die Entwicklungsformen der Gesellschaft und die Wissenschaft* (written in Russian in 1913; German trans., Berlin, 1924), and the review by Kautsky in *Gesellschaft*, 1925, pp. 564-78. For other articles by Kautsky on history see his "The Aims and Limitations of the Materialist Conception of History," *Social Democrat* (London), 1903; "Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung und der psychologische Antrieb," *Neue Zeit*, 1896; "Was will und kann die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung leisten?" *ibid.*, 1896-97, pp. 213-18, 228-38, 260-71.

THE VARANGIANS IN RUSSIAN HISTORY

*

STUART R. TOMPKINS

WHEN Peter the Great directed his minister, the learned Count Yakov Vilimovich Brius,¹ to enter into correspondence with Leibnitz with a view to establishing the racial origin of the Russian people, he opened up a controversy which has lasted from that day to this. Perhaps had not death intervened in 1716, the great German savant might have set all doubts at rest on this question. But in that case the world would be the poorer by the historical works that this controversy has called into life.

Truth to tell, legend and history alike have played with the question from the very beginning. The obscurity in which the coming of the Varangians to Russia was veiled by the chronicler still shrouds the origin of the Russian state on the Dnieper. The famous passage which has thrown the apple of discord into the company of the historians runs as follows:

YEAR 859.—The Varangians from beyond the sea levied tribute upon the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians, and the Ves and the Krivichians. But the Khazars imposed it upon the Polyanians, the Severians, and the Vyatichians, and collected a squirrel-skin, and a beaver-skin from each hearth.

YEARS 860-862.—The tributaries of the Varangians drove them back beyond the sea and, refusing them further tribute, set out to govern themselves. There was no law among them, but tribe rose against tribe. Discord thus ensued among them, and they began to war one against another. They said to themselves, "Let us seek a prince who may rule over us, and

¹ *Anglice*, James Bruce. He was of Scottish ancestry. His grandfather, having fought for the king in the troubled times of the civil war, had been forced to leave England on the collapse of the royal cause. The grandson had entered the service of Peter and had there distinguished himself by organizing a very excellent system of schools for the instructing of officers in the technical side of military science (General Manstein, *Memoirs of Russia* [London, 1770], pp. 407-8).

judge us according to the law." They accordingly went overseas to the Varangian Russes: these particular Varangians were known as Russes, just as some are called Swedes, and others Normans, Angles, and Goths, for they were thus named. The Chuds, the Slavs, and the Krivichians then said to the people of Rus, "Our whole land is great and rich, but there is no order in it. Come to rule and reign over us." They thus selected three brothers, with their kinsfolk, who took with them all the Russes and migrated. The oldest, Rurik, located himself in Novgorod; the second, Sineus, in Byeloozero; and the third, Truvor, in Izborsk. On account of these Varangians, the district of Novgorod became known as the land of Rus. The present inhabitants of Novgorod are descended from the Varangian race, but aforetime they were Slavs.²

This passage at first seems straightforward and clear and appears to give a definite answer to the question of Russian origins. But, on closer examination, the case is not perhaps so simple as it sounds. In the first place, we have not one text of the *Chronicle* but many. The passage which we have quoted from Dr. Cross's translation is from one of the commonest versions of the early *Chronicle*. For a discussion of the variants the reader is referred to the able Introduction of Dr. Cross's work. But it is also to be borne in mind that as the original unity of Kievan Russ gave way to the numerous local principalities in northeastern Russia, each center of political life must needs have its own historiographer and its own version of Russian history. It is, therefore, interesting to observe that not all the writers who were called on to record the past glories of the princely families saw eye to eye with the writer of the *Pechersky Crypt*, the presumed author of the *Primary Chronicle* at Kiev. For instance, we read in

² This translation is cited from Samuel H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* ("Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature," Vol. XII [Cambridge, 1930], pp. 144-45). This scholarly piece of work deserves to be much more widely known than it seems to be. It is unfortunate that it has been relegated to a secondary place in Vol. XII of the series, the first article giving its title to the volume. It is a document of fundamental historical importance, and we are indebted to Dr. Cross for the first English translation. It is based on the so-called Laurentian text of the "Poviest Vremmenykh Liet," the earliest part of the *Chronicle* apparently in the reprint issued by the Imperial Academy of Science in 1872, but the translator inserts the corrections of Professor Karski in the latest edition of 1926.

one version: "The Russians are Slavs by origin."³ Or the following: "The Russ, the Chuds, the Slavs,—the people of Novgorod came to the Varangians and said, 'Our land is great and rich, but there is no order in it. Come and be our princes and rule over us.'"⁴

During the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries the foreigners with whom the Russians were in contact and who began to play an important role in Novgorod were Germans. Quite naturally the Germans began to supplant the Scandinavians in Russian affairs, and one version of the *Chronicle* has it that "three brothers came from the Germans [*Niemtsy*]."⁵ The clarity of the earlier chronicles becomes muddled when racial lines begin to cross with religious and contact with new strangers taxes the limited ethnographical knowledge of the chroniclers. Germans had been found at the court of the grand prince at Kiev as early as the reign of Yaroslav the Wise (d. 1035), and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries their aggressiveness and superior culture enabled them to displace their Norse rivals in the trade that trickled through Novgorod and Wisby in Gothland. Germans and not Greeks were now the artisans who erected and adorned the new ecclesiastical edifices. When the Church of the Sacred Mother of God was built by Bishop Ivan at Suzdal, the chronicler is at pains to note: "And this is a marvel that there was not a workman who was a German but they found craftsmen among the order of the Sacred Mother of God and among their own Society."⁶ Nevertheless, as late as the end of the twelfth century, the Norse element was still strong at

³ Khlebnikovskii version of the *Hypatian Chronicle* (*Ipatevskaia Lietopis*). See M. V. Shakhmatov, *Essays in the History of the Political Ideas of Old Russ* (Prague, 1927), I, 78 (R). [The letter R in parentheses after the title of a book indicates that it is published in Russian.]

⁴ *Sophiiskii Kharetelnii Nomokanon*, Nicephorus patriarch of Constantinople. See the *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles* (Russian Imperial Archeographical Commission, 1841 ff.), I, 253.

⁵ Shakhmatov, *op. cit.*, II, 82.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Novgorod. A treaty of Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich of the year 1195 provided that "if the Varangians have cattle on Russian land or the Russians on Varangian land, and they keep them close, let twelve men go as witnesses in a body and take back their own."⁷ But the favorable light in which Norse and Germans were regarded in Russia gave way to something of distrust and intolerance with the growing hostility of the Western and the Eastern churches. Yaroslav the Wise was connected with three reigning families of Europe by the marriage of his daughters—one to Harold Hardrada of Norway, one to Henry I of France, and one to Andrew of Hungary. According to a late version of the chronicle, Iziaslav, the eldest son, who succeeded to the title of grand prince on the death of Yaroslav, was warned to "watch over his daughters and not to give them to rulers of the Latin or Varangian faith."⁸

The earlier tradition by which the Varangians were assigned a Scandinavian home, thus, during the Middle Ages, tended to become obscured and overlaid by later accretions. Moreover, with the rise of Moscow, consolidation and centralization of political power slowly sapped the local life in which the chronicles were rooted. When these began to languish, some effort was made to recover their literary treasure and to weave them into a single whole that would reflect at once the unity of Russia and the greatness of her new center, Moscow. The growing passion for heraldry imported from the West further emphasized the change in fashion. Polish writers were ready to indulge their noble employers and provide them with family trees to their taste, which, in the increasing tendency to turn to the West, usually involved a Polish or a Lithuanian ancestry. A German origin was rated

⁷ *Treaties dealing with the Relations of Northwestern Russia with Riga and the Hanseatic Cities in the XIIth, XIIIth and XIVth Centuries* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Archeographical Commission, 1857), p. 1b (R).

⁸ Shakhmatov, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

still higher.⁹ But the claim to German origin meant little more than that the nobles had migrated to Moscow from Novgorod when the latter fell on evil days.

A more serious corruption in the original tradition came with the Renaissance. Moscow, according to the new conception was the third Rome, and her rulers passionately desired to be linked up with the vanished glory of the first. The resourceful heralds were quick to gratify them and to announce that they had succeeded in tracing back to the great Augustus the lineage of the grand duke of Moscow. Classical and native traditions were thus blended in the *Stepennaia Kniga*, or *Book of Degrees*, a work usually assigned to the late fifteenth century but more probably compiled at the court of the metropolitan Macarius in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ It is from this source that the version of Russian history which first reached western Europe was drawn. The extent to which the whole early tradition of the chronicles was obscured is seen from the account which Sigismund Herberstein, the ambassador of the Emperor Maximilian I to Russia in 1517, gives of the Varangians:

About the Varangians, however, I could learn nothing certain from them. But since they were wont to call the Baltic and the sea which divides Prussia, Livonia, and a part of their own realm from Sweden,—the Varangian Sea, I thought forsooth, that their chiefs must have been Swedes or Danes or Prussians due to the proximity of these peoples. But since Vuagria seems to have been once a well known city and province of the Vandals not far from Lübeck, and the duchy of Holstein, and the sea called the Baltic to have received its name from this source, in the opinion of some; and since this sea which is the frontier that separates Germany from Denmark, likewise Prussia, Maritime Livonia, and finally, a part of the Muscovite empire from Sweden, still retains its name among the Russians (being called still “Vuaretzkoe more,” i.e., Varangian Sea); and since, in addition to this, the Vandals at that time were powerful and finally spoke the language of the Russians, had the same customs and religion, it seems to me more likely that the Russians would have sought their leaders

⁹ The Romanovs were, according to one account, of German origin.

¹⁰ A readily accessible edition is that of Gerhard Friedrich Müller (Moscow, 1775).

among the Vuagrii or "Vuae-regis,"¹¹ than to have conferred sovereignty on foreigners of different religion, of different customs and speaking a different language.¹²

The first English travelers to Muscovy in the late sixteenth century were given a similar official version of early Russian history. As Richard Hakluyt records in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*:

A brief treatise of the great Duke of Moscovia, his genealogie, being taken out of the Moscovites' manuscript Chronicles written by a Polacke. . . . Likewise the great duke of Moscovie, to make himselfe and his predecessours seeme the more soveraigne, deriveth the beginnings of his parentage from the Romane Emperours, yea even from Augustus Caesar. Albeit therefore no man is so fonde as to accept of this report for trueth, yet will wee briefly set downe what the Moscovites have written in their Chronicles as touching this matter.

Augustus (beleeve it who listeth) had certaine brethern or kinsfolkes which were appoynted governours over diverse provinces. Amongst the rest, one Prussus (of whome Prussia was named) had his place of government assigned unto him upon the shore of the Eastern or Baltick sea and upon the famous river of Wixel. This man's graund children or nephewes of the fourth generation were Rurek, Sinaus, and Truvor, who likewise, inhabited the very same places.¹³

The seventeenth century saw no break in this traditional historiography. In 1674 there appeared the so-called *Synopsis*, composed under Polish influence and representing at its worst this affectation of learning. The *Synopsis* was based in

¹¹ A conjectural etymology which the writer does not explain.

¹² Freiherr Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii* (Vienna, 1549), p. 5 (author's translation). A persistent legend has associated the Varangians with the country of the Vandals on the lower Elbe.

¹³ Glasgow, 1903, II, 182-83. This version which identified the Varangians with the Baltic Slavs remained the official canon of Russian history down to the time of Peter; the ultimate source of this tradition is Strykovskii, who writes: "Est quaedam terra Waregia sive Waragia in principatu ducatus Sabaudiae, inter Wloxsam et Franciscam terram non longe remota a Latobrogis et Woloniis etiam eo tempore Romana provincia—Inde venerunt Warjagi Russaci, Rurik, Sinaus, et Truvor—imperium Russiae acceperunt—Ibi Rurik princeps erat Magno—Nowogordensium in civitate Ladoga, Truvor autem Pskoviensium in Urbe Sborsk sive Isborska, tertius frater Sinaus in Bielo-osero" (Macieja Strykowski, *Kronika Polska* [Königsberg, 1583], p. 118).

the first instance on the chronicles of Dlugosh, Biel'ski, Kromer, Muchovskii, Strykovskii, and other Polish writers and drew on the original Russian annals only to supplement the former.¹⁴ It definitely derived the Varangians from the Baltic Slavs; in addition, it went back to classical times from which was drawn the apocryphal legend of the book of Alexander of Macedon and the charter given to the Slavs by Alexander.¹⁵ This fantastic version, with official support, remained the canon of Russian history down to the time of Peter the Great. Forty years after the *Synopsis* appeared the so-called *Epitome of Russian History* of Mankievich (sometimes called Mankiev), a Pole, which, while it showed no marked departure from the earlier traditions, drew from a wider field of material and showed at least something of the new spirit of learning of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, Mankievich's work reflected, as we should expect, Polish influence and Polish nationalism.

One of the latest and most tendentious of the official histories was the *Barkhatnaia Kniga*,¹⁶ prepared under the direction of the Tsarevna Sophia Alexeevna (sister and regent for Peter and his brother). The noble genealogies provided for foreigners who had risen to prominence reflects the growing predominance of foreigners at the Muscovite court. German origin was in itself equal to a patent of nobility. The tsarevna instructed the authors that prominent boyars and favorite courtiers, as a special mark of distinction, should be endowed with foreign lineage. The imperial family—the Romanovs—though the connection was solely through the female line, were treated as a continuation of the line of Rurik and were, like the older line, surrounded by a halo of classical legend and the glamour of medieval romance.¹⁷

¹⁴ P. Miliukov, *Principal Currents in Russian Historical Thought* (St. Petersburg, 1913), chap. i (R).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *The Velvet Book*.

¹⁷ L. P. Petrov, *History of the Families of the Russian Nobility* (St. Petersburg, 1886), p. 14 (R).

But such efforts to base the claims of autocracy on an officially derived mythical lineage did not appeal to the practical Peter. He thought the conferring of substantial material benefits more likely, in the long run, to reconcile the gentry to their obligatory service than the assumption by the tsars of such doubtful divinity. Historiography, thus freed from the need to perpetuate a questionable version of history, was encouraged by Peter to discard the accretions of past centuries. But in this work the emperor had no confidence in the resources of Russian scholarship, and, in making this fresh start, he proposed to draw on the Western world.¹⁸

A native of Königsberg, Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, invited by Peter to come to Russia to serve as a member of the newly created Academy broke new ground in 1726 in his *De Variagis* and his *Origines Russicae* published in Volumes IV and VII of the *Acta Petropolitana*. Disregarding the practice, long in vogue, of following Polish sources and of beginning Russian history with the Scythians and the Sarmatians, he went back to the Russian chronicles for his account of Russian origins, which he followed in his basic assumption that the Varangians were Scandinavians.¹⁹ The way pointed by Bayer was followed by Gerhard Friedrich Müller, a pioneer of the age of enlightenment in Russia. Coming to Russia during the reign of Anne, on invitation of the Academy of Science, he spent his life assembling from the vast extent of the empire, and editing, a unique collection of material, the originals of which have in some cases since perished. His greatest monument is his *Sammlung russischer Geschichte* (St. Petersburg, 1732-65). Müller embodied in his work parts of the so-called *Chronicle of Nestor*—the primary Russian chronicle—now given to the world for the first time. His views on the origins of the Russian people are contained in

¹⁸ A. Starchevskii, *Survey of the Literature of Russian History up to Karamzin* (St. Petersburg, 1845), p. 124 (R).

¹⁹ K. N. Bestuzhev-Riumin, *History of Russia* (St. Petersburg, 1872), I, 90 (R).

"Origines gentis et nominis Russorum," an address composed to be given on the Empress Elizabeth's name day. Lomonosov,²⁰ on learning that it advanced the Scandinavian origin of the Varangians, denounced it as an insult to the Russian people that responsible writers should thus link them with "our late enemies, the Swedes." The address was forbidden (though later published), and Müller's career was somewhat darkened by the cloud thus cast over it.²¹

The mantle of Müller fell on August Ludwig Schlözer, a native of Jagstadt in Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, who, after attending the universities of Wittenberg and Göttingen, spent some years in Sweden and in the Baltic provinces and finally came in 1762 to Moscow, on the invitation of Müller, to take service under the Academy of Science. His imagination was fired when he read the selections of the Russian chronicles published by Müller. The post of professor of history to which he was appointed by Catharine enabled him to devote himself to the task of preparing a new edition of the primary chronicle which he published under the title *Nestor*. Schlözer's views that the Varangians were Norse were put forward in language so extreme in its expression of German nationalism that he offended court circles.²² Lomonosov reported to the senate that Schlözer had collected material for

²⁰ The famous Russian scholar of the eighteenth century.

²¹ See V. I. Picheta, *Introduction to Russian History* (Moscow, 1923), p. 98 (R).

²² Schlözer's language was, to say the least, extremely indiscreet: "The Germans on this side of the Rhine and especially the Franks from the fifth century (particularly from the time of Charlemagne) . . . had been destined to sow the first seeds of enlightenment in the vast northwestern world. They fulfilled their destiny, with the the Frankish battleaxe in one hand, and the Gospel in the other. And the dwellers also in the far north beyond the Baltic—the Scandinavians whom no German conqueror had ever assailed, with the help of the Germans, began, little by little to adopt civilisation" (Schlözer, quoted in I. E. Zabelin's *History of Russia*, I, 57 [R]).

The German scholars Bayer, Müller, and Schlözer seem to have been animated by an anti-Polish bias and endeavored to undermine the elaborate myths of the "chronographs" which they ascribed to Polish influence. But they ran the danger of being thought anti-Russian. See V. S. Ikonnikov, *Sketch of Russian Historiography*, II, 1396 (R).

a history of Russia, but, inasmuch as he entertained an unfavorable opinion of Russia, he purposed going abroad to escape official censorship. The writer managed to clear himself of this charge and remained in the service of the Academy until 1769, at which time he left Russia to resume academic duties at Göttingen. His *magnum opus* was his *Nestor* (written in German), which appeared in five parts between the years 1802 and 1809.²³

Meantime, there was preparing in the fulness of time a reaction against the views of the German scholars. Vasilii Kirillovich Trediakovskii, who had studied history at the University of Paris, disliked the views of the German scholars, and in 1773 he published a work to prove that the Varangians were Slav in name, race, and language. It was a bold attack on the whole position of the Norse school, who, up until now, had enjoyed official favor. His work was taken up by an even more prolific writer, Ivan Nikitich Boltin. Boltin's first efforts were a severe criticism of the works of Prince Shcherbatov. He took a position violently opposed to the Norse school (Bayer, Müller, and Schlözer) and eventually published a work, *On the Origins of Russia*, in which he subjected their thesis to a searching criticism.

The basis of Boltin's own theory is his derivation of the population of modern Russia, of the Finns, the Magyars, the Komans, and the Avars, from the ancient Sarmatians.

If it is the truth that the Goths went over to Sweden from Russia (under pressure of the Scythians or the Huns) it would not be surprising that some of them were left behind, and mingling with the Sarmatians or the Cymbri, formed the Russian race.²⁴

The Russians, therefore, were an indigenous and not an immigrant people. The Varangians were a Finnish folk living beyond Lake Ladoga. Inasmuch as the *Chronicle* constantly referred to Ladoga as the sea and the Varangians as a people who came from beyond the sea, there is some basis for this.

²³ Starchevskii, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

²⁴ Ikonnikov, *op. cit.*, II, 344.

The race derived from the resulting fusion he calls the Slavic Russians.

The work of the eighteenth century, no matter how fruitful or original, could not continue to hold the field in face of the growing skepticism about the testimony of the chronicles. Before belief in them could be re-established, they must first be subjected to intensive criticism and found to be derived from sources that were beyond question. The most eminent representative of this critical school was P. M. Stroeve, whose book, *On the Untrustworthiness of Old Russian History and on the False Views Held as to the Antiquity of the Russian Chronicles*,²⁵ exactly defines his position. He definitely formulated questions which scholars who wished to give a sound interpretation of Russian history could not well evade.

Scholarship, therefore, set itself the task of examining critically the whole body of Russian chronicles. After a series of unsuccessful attempts to reduce to order the work of the annalists, it was finally undertaken by the archeographical commission, which began in 1846 the publication of the *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*.

In addition to the task of rendering accessible this source of early Russian history, other scholars turned their attention to fresh sources. In the later eighteenth century, Evers had suggested that the records of the medieval Moslem world might throw some light on Russian origins. The opportunity came in the early nineteenth century with the acquisition by the Russian government of some five hundred Arab manuscripts. A German scholar, C. M. Fraehn, undertook with enthusiasm the task of unlocking the treasures of Moslem literature. After studying the manuscripts available in St. Petersburg, he went abroad where he examined those in the libraries of Leyden, Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris. The result was a volume published in 1823, *Ibn-Foszlans und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, which for

²⁵ St. Petersburg, 1834 (R).

the first time gave to the world the text and a translation of Ibn-Foszlān and other important Arabs who wrote on Russia in the early Middle Ages. He established beyond doubt that the Arabs (i.e., Moslems) were well informed about Russia in the ninth and tenth centuries. In general, these sources confirm the traditional account in the Russian chronicle. If those opposed to the Norse theory expected to receive comfort from this source, they were soon undeceived:

Rus . . . is the name of a people that borders on the Slavs and Turks. . . . I saw the Russians who had brought their goods down the Volga and had camped along the River. Never saw I a people of such towering stature; they are as tall as palm trees, of fair complexion and hair.²⁶

His description of the cremation of a dead chief whose funeral pyre is his ship heaped with his personal possessions and the bodies of his favorite concubines strongly suggests the accounts of such practices in the Norse sagas.

The fresh materials drawn from the stores of Arab literature revived interest in the question of Russian origins and restored confidence in the chronicles which had been somewhat shaken by the assaults of the skeptical school of historians. A reassessment of the Varangian question was in order, and this was undertaken some years later by Ernst Kunik in his *Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slawen*.²⁷ This remarkable work of erudition was the first complete examination of the problem from all angles. The writer availed himself of all known sources—the Russian chronicles, the Icelandic sagas, the works of the Arab geographers and annalists, Byzantine history, as well as the literary output of western Europe for the Middle Ages. The mass of evidence arrayed is overwhelming, and the general impression left is one of astonishment that doubts should ever have been cast on the Norse origin of Russia's rulers. Kunik's work was

²⁶ C. M. Fraehn, *Ibn-Foszlāns und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit* (St. Petersburg, 1823), pp. 3 ff.

²⁷ St. Petersburg, 1844.

followed by other writers; one of the most important of these was Harkavy, who, in 1870, produced his *Skazaniia musul-manskikh pisatelei o slavaniakh i Russkikh* ("Slavs and Russians in the Accounts of Moslem Writers"),²⁸ in which for the first time we have a comprehensive survey of all Arab literature on early Russia. It is now accepted as the definitive work in this field.

But informed circles were being caught up in the full tide of the pan-Slav movement; a national school of writers was rising who perhaps felt it an indignity, as Lomonosov had in the eighteenth century, that Russia should accept without question this Teutonic version of her origin. The answer came in 1862 with "Excerpts from Researches on the Varangian Question" by S. A. Gedeonov, published in the *Memoires* of the Academy of Science.²⁹ Gedeonov's work was thorough and met the highest demands of historical scholarship. His contention was that the so-called proofs of the Norse origin of the Russian state and the Russian dynasty rested on the flimsiest foundation and that the statements of the chronicles, even if taken at their face value, could be given a different interpretation. He revived the tradition of the Polish chronographs and the *Stepennaia Kniga* that the Varangians were actually Baltic Slavs and not Norse. Ilovaiskii in his *Investigations on Russian Origins* (1872) wrote at great length on the question, discussing details which had been overlooked which he thought supported the anti-Norse view. Zabelin's *Russian History* (1876) covers much the same ground. If mere learning could have shaken the Norse theory, the efforts of these men and their followers should have sufficed to do so. But they seldom (except Gedeonov) seemed able to rise above mere carping criticism, or to construct and maintain a plausible theory of their own.

²⁸ St. Petersburg, 1870.

²⁹ Gedeonov amplified this in a later publication, *Variagi i Rus* ("Varangians and Russ") which appeared in St. Petersburg in 1876.

One more notable contribution was to be made during the nineteenth century. The works of two Byzantine writers had just been rendered available to the learned world, the chronicle of Attaliotes having been published in the fifties while Psellus' works had appeared for the first time in the *Bibliotheka Graeca Medii Aevi*. The latter was not only an able scholar but had played an important role at the court of Constantine Monomachus. V. G. Vasil'evskii, a Byzantine scholar, therefore thought that with this new material he was justified in attempting a re-examination of the question of the Varangians and their relations with the Byzantine empire. He had, of course, to supplement these sources with Norman chronicles, the town chronicles of southern Italy, and the Icelandic sagas (especially the *Heimskringla*). Vasil'evskii succeeded in filling one important gap. The campaigns of Harald Hardrada as given in the saga are difficult to reconcile with the accounts of the wars of the empire as recorded by the Byzantine writers; the silence of the chronicles suggests, too, that Harald did not play so heroic a part as indicated in the saga of Harald Hardrada. But the discovery of an interesting manuscript, assigned to "an unknown strategist of the eleventh century," which once belonged to a monastery on Mount Athos and found its way thence to Moscow under the Patriarch Nikhon, gives us an account of the Norse leader from Byzantine sources. A passage from this manuscript runs:

Harald was the son of the king of Varangia. He had a brother Julabos who, after the death of his father, ascended the throne which he invited Harald to share with him. But Harald, who was still young, determined to go to the court of Michael the Paphlagonian and offer his services. He took in his company five hundred nobles and departed. The king welcomed him suitably and sent him off to Sicily. For there the Roman army was fighting to defend the island.³⁰

³⁰ V. G. Vasil'evskii, *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction* (June, 1881), Appen., p. 328 (R).

The body of Varangian mercenaries in the employ of the empire is the chief concern of Vasil'evskii. According to the Russian chronicle for the year 980, Vladimir's host of followers (*druzhina*) were encouraged to depart to take service with the emperor at Constantinople, though the crafty prince by a secret warning put their future employer on his guard. Arab and Byzantine sources mention the presence of these allies from the north in the forces raised by Basil against the pretender Barda Phocas in 988; the dispatch of this contingent was presumably the price paid by Vladimir for the hand of the emperor's sister Anna. While Byzantine sources are silent as to the services of these mercenaries, they were apparently stationed on the eastern frontier of the empire. The presence here of a force that numbered six thousand during the early years of the eleventh century is attested by Armenian and Arab chronicles.³¹ Vasil'evskii suggests that the Varangians here acquired the character of a foreign legion and the popular name which they afterward bore. On the other hand, the first record in the sagas of a Norseman taking service in Constantinople is Bolle Bolleson, known to have been in Constantinople some time just before 1030. Almost contemporaneous is Biga Bardi, exiled from Norway, who appears at Constantinople somewhere about 1025. No mention is found, however, in Byzantine sources of Norse mercenaries earlier than 1034, though in the campaigns of Basil against the Bulgars we get a fleeting mention of the 'Pōs, the usual Greek form of "Russ." And when the Normans entered South Italy in 1019 to fish in the troubled waters of Italian politics, they found themselves, according to the Norman account, associated with these northern kinsmen as mercenaries in the service of the empire.³² The unique con-

³¹ Jachja of Antioch, cited in T. Schiemann, *Russland, Polen und Livland* (Berlin, 1886), I, 70, n. 1. See also Vasil'evskii, *Works* (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. 181-220 (R), for evidence drawn from Armenian and other chronicles.

³² Aimé of Monte Cassino, *L'Ystoire de li Normant*, ed. O. Delarc (Rouen, 1892). This account confirmed by Leo Ostiensis, cited by Vasil'evskii, *Works*, p. 205.

ditions of this theater of war opened up vast opportunities for these adventurers, especially the Normans, ever ready to change sides when proper inducements were held out.

When the curtain next rises, we find the Normans making common cause with the Saracen enemies of the empire. The early success of Maniakus, the imperial general sent against William Iron Arm with his Normans and their Saracen allies, came to an end with the former's recall and was soon followed by the loss to the empire of all of South Italy with the exception of Taranto, Brindisi, and Otranto. Even the liberation of Maniakus from prison revived only for the moment the empire's falling fortune. Civil strife terminated by the betrayal of Maniakus at the hands of his army effectively paralyzed the military effort of the empire in Italy. It is these campaigns which apparently provide the subject matter of the sagas of Harald Hardrada. In this Italian theater of war the Varangians received rough handling from their French kinsmen. The Norse had to be reinforced by other mercenaries, and this dilution produced a composite legion of soldiers of fortune from the lands of western Europe.

In the second half of the century, mention of these legionaries becomes more frequent; they take a hand in the palace revolution of 1057. Norman-French warriors, known indifferently as Franks or Kelts, form an important contingent among them. The unique thing about the Normans was the outstanding and picturesque leaders they produced—Hervé, Robert Crespin, Ursel (Russel?) de Balleil (taken prisoner at Manzikert), while anonymous obscurity veils the deeds of others in the ranks of the Varangian legion. The hard school of Western feudalism had tempered the untamed ferocity of the Norse with cunning and discipline. The Norman broadsword proved to be a weapon more finely tempered than the battleax of the Viking.

But the Norman conquest of England brought a flood of English exiles to the Byzantine court. Though they remain

nameless, their numbers were large and the position they acquired highly privileged.³³ They apparently formed the imperial Varangian bodyguard, the *corps élite* of the Byzantine army. They were used as the forlorn hope of the imperial forces at Dyrrachium in the fighting with Robert Guiscard and were sacrificed vainly with their leader in the effort to stem the Norman advance.³⁴ For more than a century these English *émigrés* and their descendants, unable to return to their native land, continued to form the backbone of the mercenary force. Toward the end of the twelfth century, the Varangian force had become exclusively English. Manuel Comnenus used them extensively during the Third Crusade; the Byzantine chronicler speaks of "the leader of the Britons of the broad-axe, now known as English."³⁵ They appear for the last time during the Fourth Crusade, when Constantinople was assailed by the combined Venetian and French armament. It has been said that disaffection of the English mercenaries over deferred pay incited them to mutiny and thus paved the way for disaster.

Vasil'evskii's researches, without perhaps conscious effort on his part, give a new significance to the Varangian corps recruited, as we see it to have been, from the broken men cast adrift by the formation of the feudal system of western

³³ Ordericus Vitalis, *Historica ecclesiastica*; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXXVIII, 309. "Amissa itaque libertate Angli vehementer ingemiscunt, et vicissim qualiter intolerabile jugum sibi que hastenus insolitum excutiznt subtiliter inquirunt. . . . Ultro in exsilium aliqui profugiunt quo extorres vel a potestate Normannorum sint liberi, vel opibus alienis aucti, contra eos ad recidivum certamen revertantur. Quidam autem ex eis pulchrae juventutis flore vernantes longinquas regiones adierunt et militiae Alexii imperatoris Constantinopolitani sese audacter obtulerunt. Erat enim multum sapiens et mirae dapsilitatis contra quem Rodbertus Wiscardus Apuliae dux cum suis omnibus arma levaverat. . . . Exsules igitur Anglorum favorabiliter a Graecis suscepti sunt et Normannicis legionibus quae nimium Pelasgis adversabantur oppositi sunt."

³⁴ Vasil'evskii (*Works*, p. 359) gives a number of citations from Anna Comnena and the *Historia Sicula* which Geoffrey Malaterra wrote for Roger Guiscard. The latter author speaks of the "Angli, quos Waringos appellant."

³⁵ Nikita Choniatus, cited by Vasil'evskii, *Works*, p. 367; also Anna Comnena's account of the battle of Dyrrachium, *ibid.*, p. 359.

Europe. But they do not throw much fresh light on the original problem as to the racial origin of the Varangians, whom tradition links with the foundation of the state on the Dnieper. Nor had he any such purpose originally in mind. But in the end, despite his efforts to remain neutral, he was compelled to take sides:

As to the relation which the question of the Byzantine Varangians occupies to the question of the Russian Varangians and the foundation of the Russian state, we have already in part expressed our views despite the promise given in the introduction to remain neutral. We think that the Scandinavian theory of the origin of the Russian state remains unshaken and those who have tried to overthrow it have suffered a signal defeat. It rests mainly on two pillars—on the names of the early Russian princes and the names of the rapids of the Dnieper which still remain Norse despite unsuccessful attempts of different philologists to explain them by the Slavic.³⁶

But to return to the original problem as to the part played by the Norse in the founding of the Russian state: nineteenth-century scholarship sought the answer in the etymology of the words "Rus" and "Varangian," the names by which these immigrants were known to the annalists. A plausible explanation of the first has been that it was derived from the Finnish *Ruotsi* in a number of variant forms.³⁷ Against the derivation of Rus from the Finnish *Ruotsi*, may be set the innumerable place names with the root Ros or Rus (e.g., Staraya or Old Rusa to the south of Lake Ilmen), the frequent appearance of the word "Ros" as the name of a river

³⁶ Vasil'evskii, *Works*, p. 177, contains a reprint of the articles on the Varangians which appeared originally in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction* (1874-76).

³⁷ The Finnish name for the Swedes; see Kunik, *op. cit.*, I, 67, 68. Liutprand of Cremona writing in the tenth century identifies the "Russi" with the Norse but explains the name as a Greek term referring to their physical traits: "Gens quaedam est sub aquilonis parte constituta, quam a qualitate corporis Graeci vocant Ροσως, Rusios, nos vero a positione loci nominamus Nordmannos" (*Antapodosis*, V, 15, in *MGH SS*, III, 331). 'Ροσωτοι used by Constantine Porphyrogenitus is less common than the indeclinable Ρῶς. Medieval writers, of course, are scarcely to be accepted as authorities in the field of etymology. Philip Krug, *Forschungen in der älteren Geschichte Russlands*, Part I, p. 194.

(Rha was the old name of the Volga according to Herodotus).³⁸ Varangian was referred back to Icelandic *Vaering*, *Vaeringjar*. The name was given among the Norse to those warriors who had seen service under the Byzantine empire. *Vaer* (Anglo-Saxon *vaere* in the sense of an oath or agreement) was the ultimate root to which this was assigned.³⁹ The assumption was further made that its application to those who took an "oath" or a "pledge," to the mercenaries in the service of Byzantium, derives from the "Federati," those foreign mercenaries, mostly German, who had in early time taken service under Rome's standards—though an explanation based on an appeal to so distant a time is not very convincing. The appearance of the form *Vaering* in the sagas is assumed by some to point to the Norse origin of the words *Variag* (the Russian form) and *Varangus* (the Greek form). But it must be borne in mind that the Greek name appeared first in the popular speech.⁴⁰ Fastidious authors perhaps found the expression too colloquial and chose to use pedantic names like Tauroscythians. But more frequently their identity was suppressed by referring to them as "the confederates who bear the axe on the right shoulder." Their race and origins begin slowly to emerge in such references as "the axemen; this is the race of Britons who have served the kings of the Romans from of old,"⁴¹ "the Varangians, the Russians, the Saracens and the Franks,"⁴² the chief of the Britons now

³⁸ N. Ia. Marr in his Japhetic theory rejects the racial significance of place names. He thinks that place names are of great antiquity, and represent survivals of earlier languages. He attacks the whole Indo-European theory. His view indicates a new approach but has not been sufficiently developed to offer much assistance. See "Japhetic Theory," *Larger Soviet Encyclopedia*, LXV (Moscow, 1931), 811 ff. (R).

³⁹ Kunik, *op. cit.*, I, 67, 68.

⁴⁰ Johannes Curopalates, in *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1828–97), p. 644: Βαράγγους αὐτοὺς ἢ κοινὴ ὀνομάζει διαλέκτος.

⁴¹ Johannes Kinnam.

⁴² A charter of Constantine X to the monastery of St. Athanasius on Mount Athos given in Porphyre, *History of Mount Athos* (ed. 1877), III, 1 (R).

called English (Ἰγγλῖνοι),⁴³ "Russians, Kulpigians, Franks, Bulgarians, Saracens."⁴⁴ Finally, writers are driven to adopt the now universal term, the "Varangians." But its origin still remains obscure. Shakhmatov suggests that it is a corrupted form of the word "Frank" that came into Byzantine Greek through the Avars.⁴⁵ The fact that the early Russian chronicles were imitations of the Byzantine, strongly suggests that the word was simply adopted from the Greek and then spread to the Scandinavian north. But if so, whence did the Arabs get the same name, as in the "Sea of the Warengs" (the Baltic)?⁴⁶ This argues for the national connotation of the term "Varangian." The enigma so far has not been solved.

In a report made before the Anglo-Russian Literary Society in London (a summary of which appeared in the *Slavonic Review* for 1926) and in an article "Rorik of Jutland and Rurik of the Primary Chronicle" published in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (1929), N. Belaiev advances a hypothesis that Rorik or Roricus, referred to in the Frankish chronicles of the ninth century as *fel christianitatis* was the same person as Rurik, one of the three brothers whom the Russian chronicles recount were invited to Russia in A.D. 862. Rorik had a stormy career in the West, sometimes appearing as a faithful vassal of the empire, receiving as his fief, Frisia; more often he was the most daring of Norse freebooters and organized some of the most formidable expeditions against England, the West Frankish kingdom, the Saracens in Spain, and even against some of the cities of Italy. He appears to have been converted to Christianity, though this did not interfere with his career of robbery and violence. He was last mentioned by Flodoard in 862, when Hincmar, bishop of Reims, wrote to him warning him not to receive the guilty

⁴³ Anna Comnena, cited by Vasil'evskii, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

⁴⁴ Sathes, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I, 55.

⁴⁵ A. A. Shakhmatov, *Antiquity of the Russian Race* (Petrograd, 1919), p. 47 (R).

⁴⁶ Fraehn, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff., 172.

Count Baldwin of Flanders, who had just abducted Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald. As 862 is the traditional date for the coming of Rurik to Russia, it is a tempting hypothesis. Belaiev's theory, however, would do little more than to identify the Rurik of the chronicles and to carry back the conversion of Russia a hundred years were it not that he goes on to reason that the Rus of the Russian chroniclers and the 'Pōs of the Byzantine chroniclers were Frisians, who in the service of Rurik entered Russia with him.

It is well known, of course, that before Charlemagne conquered the Saxons and the Frisians, there had been a long-established trading connection between the Frisian islanders and the Baltic. After the conquest, the cities on the lower Rhine and the Scheldt were on more than one occasion the object of Viking raids, undertaken, some say, as retaliation. Charlemagne managed to keep these in check, but on his death his successors in their rivalry undertook to play off the Norse princes against one another or against their own rivals. Thus Rurik, a claimant at one time to the kingdom then established on the mainland of Denmark, had been driven out and found refuge with Lothair. Lothair assigned him Frisia, and he thus was enabled to bid for the heritage in Denmark of which he had been dispossessed. At first successful, he received a portion of Denmark but was subsequently expelled. Lothair made use of him against his own rivals and thus the Northmen, encouraged to raid the towns of the neighboring Frankish kingdom, discovered its fatal weakness, and the way was prepared for the long agony of Christendom. In this era of pillage and devastation, Rurik played no small part; most of the great raids were under his leadership or organized by him. Perhaps by joining with the Norse, the Frisians thus avenged themselves on the Franks for the loss of their freedom. But they probably revived as well their old trade with the Baltic and the city of Birka on the northern coasts of that sea is known as having been resorted to by

Frisians. A well-known story also records how the citizens of Birka diverted a Viking raid from themselves by directing it against the southern coast. It is not impossible that both Vikings and Frisians may thus have found their way to Novgorod. The evidence of the chronicles is buttressed by an appeal to philology; the writer claims that the word "Frisi" could easily lose its initial *F* and the medial *i* become an *o* thus producing the "Ros" of Byzantine chroniclers and the "Rus" of the Russian.

But whatever the etymology of the words "Rus" or "Varangian," other facts point to the almost certain Scandinavian origin of the dynasty that came to rule Russia. The names of the original brothers invited (according to the legend) to Russia—Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor—certainly closely accord with names made familiar in sagas; Oleg and Igor need only slight modification to become Swedish; while in the signatories of the treaties consummated with Byzantium and recorded in the chronicles, we find such names as Karl, Inegeld, Veremud, Rulav, Guda, Ruald, Svein, Stir, Igor, Karn, Frelav, Truan, Fost, and Stemid.⁴⁷ No ingenious efforts to turn these into Slav names will persuade the average layman that they are anything but what tradition claims for them, viz., the names of Norse freebooters.

Those favoring the Norse theory have, moreover, one incontrovertible witness in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Greek emperor and writer of the tenth century, who in his treatise on the imperial possessions ranges beyond the confines of the empire and describes the Dnieper Basin, at that time a valuable feeder for Byzantine trade in the Euxine.⁴⁸ For the first time in history we get a description of the famous rapids of the Dnieper. Constantine discloses the significant information that each cataract had two names—one which he

⁴⁷ *Chronicle* (Laurentian text) (St. Petersburg, 1872), treaties of the years 912 and 945.

⁴⁸ *De thematibus et administrando imperio* (Bonn, 1840).

calls "Russian" and the other "Slav." Despite the handicap imposed by the use of the Greek characters in transliterating an unfamiliar language, the Slavic names bear an astonishing resemblance to modern Russian, while the so-called "Russian" names seem no less Scandinavian.⁴⁹ Such evidence drawn from a source as unimpeachable is difficult of being explained on any assumption except that the leading role was played by the Norse in organizing the Russian state which appears on the Dnieper in the ninth century.

It may be that literature will not have the last word to say on the subject. For centuries the trade routes of Russia have yielded generous finds of coins lost or hidden along them by passing caravans of merchants. Plotted on the map they trace a definite course along the rivers, the Dnieper and the Volga, converging on the Gulf of Finland. The chief finds, however, have been on the island of Gothland, and the conjecture seems plausible that the trade that originated on the Danube, along the Black Sea, or in Central Asia was, at least at its northern end, in the hands of the Scandinavian peoples from the early ninth century.⁵⁰ The trade monopoly was held by the Scandinavians until the rise of the Hanseatic League, when it passed in the thirteenth century to the Germans.

⁴⁹ Among other places in which these are to be found are: Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1902), Vol. VI, Appendix; Wilhelm Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Skandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State* (Oxford, 1877); also the Introduction to Cross, *op. cit.* Prior to the construction of the great barrage at Dnieperstroï by the U.S.S.R. the engineers of the Tsarist government distinguished ten distinct rapids. But there are other swift and dangerous places, known locally as *zabory*, that have at times ranked as "cataracts." The number of these rapids has not remained constant. But the *Neasit* of Constantine is unquestionably the modern *Neniasitets*, the fifth rapid as one descends the river; the name of the third is given (in Norse or "Russian") as *Gelandri*; though the Slavic equivalent is omitted, the meaning given by the writer, as "roaring cataract" easily identifies it as the fourth, *Zvonetskii*. The fifth (of Constantine)—*Vulnoprakh*—undoubtedly can be identified as the sixth, the so-called *Volnigskii Porog*. See N. I. Maksimovich, *Dniepr i ego Bassein* ("The Dnieper and Its Basin") (Kiev, 1901), chaps. iii and vii. Thomsen (*op. cit.*) elucidates the "Russian" or Norse names.

⁵⁰ T. Arne, *La Suède et l'Orient* (Upsala, 1914), p. 222.

This but confirms the evidence of Arab geographers and Greek historians, of Russian chronicler and of Norse saga, that, as the chronicler says,

there is a road from the Varangians to the Greeks and from the Greeks up the Dnieper and over the Dnieper water-parting to the Lovat, and down the Lovat to the great Lake Ilmen, and out of it flows the Volkhov and falls into the great Lake Ladoga.⁵¹

Wherein lies the uncertainty as to the origin of the Russian state? The elapse of more than one hundred years between the first coming of the Norse and the final triumph of Christianity which brought the art of writing with it, and the still further lapse of a century before the first chronicles were composed; the isolation from cultural centers and the complete indifference of Byzantine writers to what was transpiring beyond their frontiers; the rapidity with which the two races were fused and the Norse element lost its identity—all these factors contributed to obscure the records which have been further dimmed by time. We lack incontrovertible proof of the Norse participation in the founding of the Russian state on the Dnieper. Does that mean that we must content ourselves with a negation? Surely not.

Communist historical writers dismiss the whole controversy as meaningless, the product of nineteenth-century bourgeois nationalism. In a recent article by a communist writer we read:

Linguists have sought for their part to determine to what modern national language are to be ascribed the names of the princes of early Russia—Rurik, Oleg, Igor, and the names of the rapids in the Dnieper. In the discussion no one raised the question whether the character of the national languages had been fixed at that time. In short, from the very beginning, the problems were not properly formulated and the answers given were false and misleading.

The writer goes on to state that the authors were motivated by the desire to justify state policy:

The unscientific schemes of bourgeois historians were linked with the interests of the exploiting classes. . . . Thus at the time of the two 'con-

⁵¹ *Chronicle* (Laurentian text), p. 6.

quests of the Finns by Russian Tsarism, there were two occasions on which the theory of the Finnish origin of the first Russian princes was put forward—first by V. E. Tatishchev and some decades later by Bielkov. According to this explanation, Finland had been the ancient fief of the Romanovs as successors to Rurik. The “theories” of N. E. Zabelin, D. L. Ilovaiskii, S. A. Gedeonov, of the Scythian descent of the Russians coincided in time with the Balkan wars, with the spread of Pan-Slavism and the search for Slavs everywhere.

These criticisms reflect the favorite Marxian thesis of the intimate relation between history and politics, but to discard the help of comparative philology because of the occasional shortcomings of some of the philologists would hardly seem to be sound historical method. It seems somewhat naïve to believe that considerations of public policy are the only factors that have influenced the views of historians, who, after all, are but the children of their age and subject to all the diverse influences of their environment.

The third ground of communist criticism is that the controversy implies an assumption of the superiority or the inferiority of certain races:

Thus the “theory” of the Norman, Norse or Swedish origin of the early Russian princes assumed a distinguished and noble origin for them inasmuch as they founded a state and established peace and order among the Slavs.⁵³

The Marxian writer cited above assumes that the controversy from first to last has been one solely of the superiority or inferiority of one or the other of the two races—Slavs and Scandinavians—and, from a strictly scientific viewpoint, therefore meaningless. It is possible, of course, that the chronicler in describing how the early Slavs, distracted by intertribal wars, decided to invite the Varangians from overseas to “come to rule and reign over us,” intended to imply superior political abilities on the part of the Varangians over their Slavic subjects. As we have seen, that note has been injected into the controversy from time to time by champions

⁵³ S. Bykovskii, art., “N. Ia. Marr, Historian and Revolutionary,” in *Istorik Marksist* (Moscow, 1935), Vols. II–III.

of either "race." But we may put another construction on the facts, if, as we have seen, the Rurik of the Russian chronicles was Roric of Jutland, and if, as seems fair to assume, a whole stream of civilizing and Christianizing influences came in with him. The question then becomes not one of innate capacity but one of the relative stage of civilization acquired. At any rate, it has not been, at least since mature scholarship developed in Russia, a question solely of national bias. Good patriots have taken both sides in the controversy, and those who accepted the theory of the Scandinavian origin of the first Russian princes did so without consciously subscribing to a belief in the political incapacity of the Slav race. "That," as Kipling said, "is another story."

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